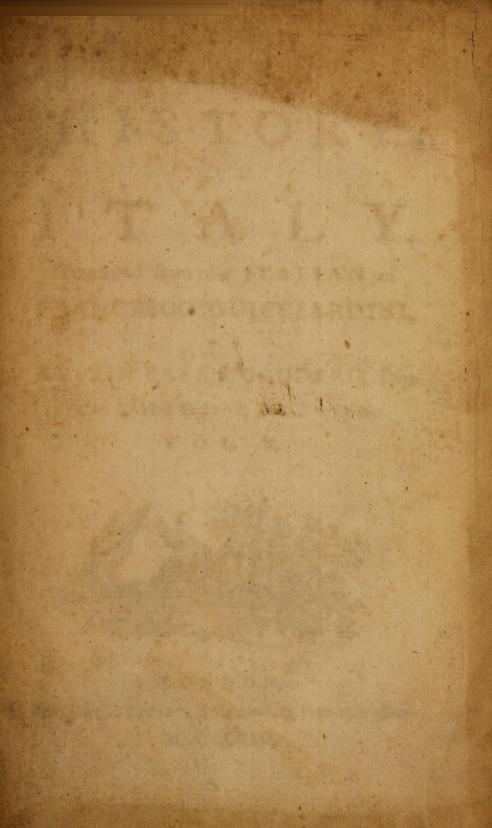


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HISTORY

OF

ITALY,

Translated from the ITALIAN of FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

ANIGNAIDO BY

AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Efq.

The T H.V. L. V. L. T of



LONDON,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the Lamb, in Pater-noster-Rew.

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Translated from the EEELARBING FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

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THOUR THIRD EDITION.

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Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

OF

The WARS in ITALY.

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BOOK IX.

THE CONTENTS.

The Pope becomes a Friend to the Venetians.

Causes of the Rupture between the King of France and the Swiss. Cæsar and the King of France confirm their League against the Venetians. The Pope makes War upon Ferrara. Bad Success of the Venetians. The Pope's Design against Genoa. A General Council summoned to meet at Pisa. Rebellion of Bologna.

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A. D. principally concerned his Affairs, and gave no less Uneasiness to the King of France, who, out of Regard to his own Interest, was unwilling to fee the Senate restored to its former Greatness. He could not however intirely discover the Depth of the Pope's Intentions, but fortifying himfelf with vain Hopes against the Difficulties that were preparing to furround him, he persuaded himself that the Pontiff had taken this Step from a Jealoufy he had conceived of his Union with Cafar; and that by temporifing with him, and giving him no Cause for greater Apprehensions, he would content himself with the Absolution, and proceed no further. But Julius, confirming himself more and more every Day in his Resolutions, granted Liberty, in contradiction to the repeated Remonstrances of the Ambassadors of the Venetians. Allies, to the Feudatories and Subjects of the Church to lift in the Service of the Venetians. By virtue of this Licence the Republic enlifted Gian Pagolo Baglione, under the Title of Governor of their Army, which, fince the Death of Count Pitigliano, had remained without a Cap-

Pope favours the

tain

tain General, and Giovan Luigi, and A. D. Giovanni Vitelli, Sons of the late Giovanni and Camillo, and Renzo da Ceri, whom they appointed General of all their Foot.

THE Pontiff having thus openly taken Mediates the Venetians into his Patronage, procured a Peace a Treaty of Peace between them and the Vere. Cæfar, in hopes, by that Means, not only tians and to separate him from Lewis, but to induce him, in conjunction with himself and the Venetians, to make War upon him. And that he might the more eafily accomplish his Purpose by means of Cæsar's Necessities, he interposed his Authority with the Electors of the Empire, and with the Free Towns, that in the Diet of Ausburg they should come to no Refolution about granting him a Supply. But the longer he treated, the greater Difficulties he met with in compaffing his Defign: For Cæfar would harken to no Agreement without retaining Verona; and the Venetians, in whom the Pope thought to have found more Compliance, promising themselves that whatever happened they should be able to defend Padoua, and A 3

4. D. that while they kept possession of that City, Time would furnish them with many favourable Opportunities, obstinately demanded the Restitution of Verona, offering to pay in Recompense a very large Sum of Money. The Pope was ever stimulating the King of England to enter into a War with the King of France, putting him in Mind of the antient Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and demonstrating the fair Opportunity of a most prosperous Success: For if he took up Arms against that King, many others, who were either jealous of, or hated his Power, would follow his Example. He therefore exhorted him to embrace, with that Devotion which was peculiar to the Kings of England, the Opportunity now offered of acquiring the Glory of being the Protector and Preserver of the Apostolic See, which was otherwise in most manifest Danger from the Ambition of the King of France. The King of Aragon, tho' with great Secrefy, added his Sollicitations to the same Purpose. But, what was of more Importance, the Pontiff had at last concluded a Treaty with the

the Swiss by means of the Bishop of Sion, A D. who was of great Authority in that Nation, and, by haranguing in their Councils, and preaching in their Churches, with mighty Efficacy, had never ceased intreating and pressing the Accomplishment of so pious a Work. By this Treaty the Swiss, on Condition of the yearly Payment of One Thousand Rhenish Florins to each Canton, took upon them—Makes a Treaty selves the Protection of the Pope and the with the Ecclesiastical State, permitting him to Swiss. levy a certain Number of their Troops for his Desence.

This Treaty was facilitated by the Quarrel which began to arise between the Swiss and the King of France. For the Swiss, grown proud of the Value King of which was universally set upon their Ser-France differs vice, and having the Presumption to ima-with the gine that all the Victories which this present King, or his Predecessor had obtained in Italy were principally owing to their Valour, and to the Terror of their Arms, thought themselves to have highly merited of the Crown of France. Therefore A 4 when

A. D. when they were follicited by the King to renew the Confederacy, which was expired, they demanded an Increase of their Penfions. Sixty Thousand Franks a Year were first settled on them by Lewis XI, and continued to be paid till this Time, not including the Penfions which were bestowed in secret on many of their leading Men. They made this Demand in fo haughty a Manner that the King, provoked at their Infolence, and, to use his own Words, at being thus imperiously mulcted by a Parcel of low Fellows, born and bred in the Mountains, in Terms more becoming the royal Dignity than conducive to his present Interest, gave them to understand how much he despised them. He was the more animated in this Proceeding because, at the same time, with the by means of Giorgio Soprasasso, the Vallese, Subjects of Sion, divided into feven Communities, called by them Corti, being corrupted by Presents, and Promises of Pensions, both in public and private, had

entered into a Confederacy with him; by which they were obliged to grant a Passage to his Troops, but to deny the same to

Makes a League Vallescand Grifons.

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his Enemies; and to enter into his Service A. D. with fuch a Number of Troops as was proportionable to their Force. He had contracted an Alliance also with the Lords of the Three Leagues called Grisons; and tho' a Part of the Vallese had not yet ratified the Confederacy, the King hoped to induce them to it by continuing to make use of the same Means. Hence he persuaded himself that the Friendship of the Swiss was no longer of such Neceffity to him, fince he had also resolved, besides the Troops he was to have from the Vallese and Grisons, to hire a Body of German Infantry; and he was not under much Apprehension of any Movement from Swifferland, because he did not believe that the Dutchy of Milan could be invaded but by the Way of Bellinzone, and other very narrow Passes, in which a fmall Number might eafily reduce a great Multitude to Straits for Want of Provifions; and if the Enemy came but in a small Number, a like Number was sufficient to make them retire.

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1. D.

THE King of France continuing thus obstinately resolved not to augment the Pensions of the Swiss, he could not obtain, in the general Affembly of that Nation, a Renewal of their Confederacy with him, tho' it was strenuously insisted on by many of their Number, who were fensible how much it tended to their private Advantage. The fame Reason difposed the Swiss the more readily to enter into the Confederacy demanded by the Pope, who flattered himself that by this Step he had laid a great Foundation for his Projects. Besides this, as he ever acted in an arbitary Manner, and as if all were bound to follow his Dictates, he gave Occasion for a new Quarrel with the Duke of Ferrara, it being uncertain whether he was really incited by the Subject that came in Dispute between them, or highly refented that the Duke, unmindful of fo many Favours and Honours, which he had received from him, had chosen rather to depend on the King of France than on himself. Whatever was the Cause that gave Beginning to the Controverfy,

verfy, the Pope imperiously commanded A. D. Alfonso to desist from making of Salt at 1510. Comacchio; for fince he had not been al-Pope diflowed to work on the Salt Pits when the fers with Venetians were in Possession of Cervia, it the Duke of Urbine. was not reasonable he should enjoy that Privilege now that Town was reduced under Obedience of the Pontiff, who was Lord Paramount both of Ferrara and Comacchio. This was an interesting Affair on account of the Profits, for when no Salt was made at Comacchio, many of the circumjacent Towns were fupplied with that useful Commodity from the Salt-works of Cervia. But Alfonso, who confided more in the Friendship and Protection of the King of France, than he stood in Awe of the Pope's Power, remonstrating that it was very hard that he should be debarred from gathering the Fruits of his own Land, which cost him but very little Trouble, and that he should be forced to purchase of others, for the Use of his own People, a Commodity with which he was able to fupply foreign Conntries, and that an Imposition to which the Venetians, not with Justice but by

A. D. by Arms, had induced him to give his Confent, ought not to pass into an Example, refused to obey the Commands of his Holiness, who then sent him a positive Injunction to desist under grievous Pains and Censures,

Such were the Schemes and Practices of the Pontiff, who was intent, with all his Mind, on raising the Venetians. On the other Side the King of the Romans and the King of France were as much bent on their Depression; and being much diffatisfied at those Marks of Favour which the Pope had shown them, entered into the stricter Union, and agreed this Summer to attack the Venetians with mighty Forces. On one Side the King of France was to order Chaumont to march with a potent Army, which was to be joined by the German Foot that were in Verona. On another Quarter Casar was to act with those Troops which he was in hopes to obtain from the Empire in the Diet of Ausburg, and enter Friuli, and after he had conquered that Province to go upon some other Enterprise as Time and -

and Opportunity offered. They required A, D. the Pope to concur with them, as being obliged by the League of Cambray to join his Forces with theirs. But His Holinefs, who was utterly averfe to fuch a Step, answered in plain Terms, that he was not bound to continue in a Confederacy, which had already attained its End; fince it had been in Cæfar's Power first to take Possession of Trevigi, and fince that to accept of a Recompense in Money. Maximilian used also his Sollicitations with the Catholic King for Supplies, pleading the fame Obligations of Cambray, and the particular Agreement made with himself when he consented to his affuming the Government of Caffile: and at the same time prayed him to furnish his Quota rather in Money than Troops. But that King not being disposed to supply him with what he most wanted, promised to send him Four Hundred Lances, a Succour of little Use to Casar, because both his own and the French Army abounded in Cavalry.

ABOUT this Time the City of Verona being

THE HISTORY OF

a. D. being much plagued with the Soldiers that were in Garrison, for want of their Pay, the Venetian Troops, privately fent for by some Officers, set out from San Bonifacio, and approached the City by Night, with an Intent to scale Castel San Piero. They entered by the Gate of San Giorgio, where while they ipent too much Time in joining the Ladders, which were not long enough to reach the Height of the Walls, either being perceived by some of the Garrison of San Felice, or fancying they heard a Attempt Noise, they were struck with a sudden on Verona Consternation, and fled out of the Place, miscarries leaving their Ladders behind them. The Army then returned to San Bonifacio, and the Plot being discovered, many of the

of the

THE Pope at this Time was inclined to a Reconciliation with the King of France, to which he was induced not out of Good-will but thro' Fear, for Maximilian had prefumptuously demanded that he would lend him Two Hundred Thousand Ducats, threatening otherwise

Conspirators were punished.

to join with the King of France against A. D. him; and also because it was reported that the Diet at Ausburg had resolved to grant Cæsar considerable Supplies, and that the Peace between the Kings of France and England was now renewed and published with great Solemnity. His Holiness therefore began to hold secret Conferences with Alberto da Carpi, whom he had hitherto treated only with fair Speeches, and given him general Hopes But he did not long persevere in that Mind, for the Diet of Ausburg, without whose Forces the Menaces of Casar were of no Estimation, did not any way anfwer Expectation, but refolved only on granting an Aid of Three Hundred Thoufand Rhenish Florins, a good Part of which had been already spent upon the Credit of what was expected to be raifed; and the King of England had fignified to him by Letter, that an Article in the Peace was inferted, by which the Treaty was to be confidered as null, if at any time the King of France should molest the State of the Church.

to join with the King of France against A. D. On these Advices the Pontiff resumed 1510. his Courage, and returned to his first New Dif-Projects; he pretended to have a new tween the Subject of Complaint against the Duke of Pope and the Duke Ferrara, for his having, after the Navigaof Ferra-tion of the Gulf had been declared free, 74. laid new Duties on Goods carried to Venice by way of the River Po. The Pontiff alledged that, according to the Disposition of the Laws, it was not in the Power of a Vaffal to lay any Duties without Leave first obtained from the Lord of the Fee, and that these Duties were very prejudicial to the Bolognese his Subjects, and made Instances to have them taken off, threatening otherwise to do himself Justice by Force of Arms; and, to strike the greater Fear into the Duke, he ordered some of his Men at Arms to march into the Terristory of Bologna, and into Romagna.

THE King of France found himself much embarrassed at these Proceedings; for on one hand he was very loth to incur the Enmity of the Pope, and on the other he was moved, by a Sense of Honour,

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not to abandon the Duke of Ferrara, A. D. whom he had obliged himself to pro 1510. tect, in confideration of Thirty Thousand Ducats which he had received. He was no less affected with a Regard to his own Interest; for Alfonso wholly depended on him, and the more he faw himself perfecuted by the Pope, the more firmly was he attached to his Devotion; and his State lying very commodious with regard to the Affairs of Lombardy, the King thought himself obliged, in point of Interest as well as of Honour, to preserve him. For this End he interposed his Mediation with the Pope, in order to find some Means for King of an Agreement. But the Pontiff thought interposes it just that the Duke should be excluded his Mediafrom the royal Protection, alledging that tion. it was granted him contrary to the Articles of Cambray, in one of which, made on purpose for reinstating the Church in what had been wrested from it, it was stipulated, that no one of the Confederates should take under his Protection those that were nominated by another, and that he himself had nominated the Duke of Ferrara; and moreover that it was forbidden VOL. V. by

A. D. by the Treaty for any one of the Confederates to intermeddle in Affairs belonging to the Church: That the same was also confirmed by the particular Confederacy between the King and himfelf at Biagrassa, in which it was expresly mentioned that the King should withdraw his Protection from all States dependent on the Church, and should not give it to any fuch for the future. To these Allegations tho' it had been answered, on the Part of the King, that by the fame Convention his Majesty was to have the Collation of the Bishoprics on this Side the Mountains at his own Disposal, yet the Pope violated that Article on the first Vacancy, and that he had infringed also the Articles of Cambray in favour of the Venetians, for which Reasons it was lawful for the King not to observe the Promifes he had made him; yet his Majesty, to avoid coming to a Rupture with the Pope, for maintaining the Interests of the Duke of Ferrara, proposed Conditions by which, without entirely or directly contravening his own Honour, the Pontiff might rest satisfied as to the greater Part of

of the Claims which he and the Church pretended to have upon Duke Alfonso; and was further willing to oblige himself, that, according to the Pope's Request, the French Troops should not pass the River Po, except for the Protection of the Florentines, to which they were bound; or to call to an Account Pandolfo Petrucci and Gian Pagolo Baglione, on Pretence of Money promised by the one, and inter-

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While these Things passed, Chau-Progress mont, at the Head of Fisteen Hundred of the Confede-Lances, and Ten Thousand Foot of dis-rate Army ferent Nations, among whom were some against the Venetians, Swifs, privately listed, and not by Leave from the Cantons, followed by a numerous Train of Artillery, with Three Thousand Pioneers, and Pontons for passing Rivers, and joined by the Duke of Ferrara with Two Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse, and Two Thousand Foot, had taken Possession of the Polesine of Rovigo without Opposition, which had been abandoned by the Venetians. He next made himself Master

cepted by the other.

A. D. of the Tower of Marchefana, situated on the Bank of the Adice towards Padona. Thence he proceeded to Caftel Baldo, and got furrendered to him, at the first Summons, the Towns of Montagnana and Esti, one of which belonged to Alfonso d' Este by Donation from Maximilian, and the other was mortgaged to him by that Prince as Security for Money lent. But as foon as Alfonfo had recovered those Places, he fent back the greatest Part of his own Troops, on a Pretence that some Galleys of the Venetians were coming up the Po. Chaumont was joined in the Polefine by the Prince of Anhalt, Lieutenant General to Cæfar, from Verona, with Three Hundred French Lances, Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thoufand German Foot, who followed, keeping always a Day's March behind. The Army then leaving behind them Monfelice, which was possessed by the Venetians, came into the Territory of Vicenza, when Lunigo and the whole Country fubmitted without Opposition. For the Venetian Army, which was faid to confift of Six Hundred Men at Arms, Four Thou-

Thousand light Horse and Stradiotti, and A. D. Eight Thousand Foot, under Gian Pagolo, 1510. Baglione Governor, and Andrea Gritti Proveditor, marched from Soave, and as the Enemy advanced continually retired before them into Places of Security, till at last having put a sufficient Garrison into Trevigi, and posted One Thousand Foot at Mestre, they retired to the Brentella, a Place three Miles from Padoua, and strongly situated for a Camp, because the Country is full of floping Banks, and this Place in particular furrounded with the Waters of three Rivers, the Brenta, Brentella, and Bacchiglione. The Vicentines, by the Retreat of the Venetian Army, finding themselves wholly abandoned, and being incapable of making any Defence, had no Hopes left but in the Mercy of the Conquerors; and trusting that they might the more eafily obtain it by the Mediation of Chaumont, they fent to demand of him a fafe Conduct for their Ambassadors, whom they had appointed Vicenza fubmits to to wait on him and the Prince of Anhalt, the Con-This being granted, the Ambassadors ap-federates. peared before the two Generals at the B 3 Bridge

A. D. Bridge of Barberano, about ten Miles from Vicenza, in a miserable Dress, and full of Fear and Aftonishment, where, in the Presence of all the Officers and principal Men of the Armies, the Head of the Embaffy spoke, as it is said, after this Manner:

Speech of a Vicenbaffador to the

"WERE it known to every one what the City of Vicenza, formerly the Envy tine Am- of many of its neighbouring Cities for its Riches and Felicity, has fuffered, fince, by Generals, the Error and Folly of Men, and perhaps more by a certain fatal Disposition than by any other Cause, it returned under the Dominion of the Venetians, with the infinite and intolerable Damages it has received, we could affure ourselves, most invincible Captains, that your Hearts would be rather touched with a tender Commiseration of our Miseries, than moved with Indignation and Hatred at the Remembrance of a Rebellion, if we may deservedly give the Name of Rebellion to the Error of that Night, in which our People struck with Astonishment, when the Venetian Army forced

the

the Suburb of the Posterla, sent forth A. D. Ambassadors to make an Agreement 1510. with them, not with an Intention to rebel, or to shake off the gentle Yoke of Cafar, but to prevent their City from Plunder and the worst of Evils. What principally prevailed upon our People, unaccustomed to Arms and the Dangers of War, to take this Step, was the Authority of Fracassa, who, being an Officer of long Experience, and in Cæsar's Pay, whether out of Fraud or Fear is not our Business to enquire, advised us to provide for the Safety of our Wives and Children, and of our afflicted Country, by means of an Agreement. Hence it is evident that not any Malignity or Difaffection, but Fear, heightened by the Authority of fuch a Commaader, was the true Cause, not that determined, but rather that, in a fhort Space of Time, in fo great a Tumult, amidst the Clash of Weapons, and the Thunder of the Cannon, Noises to which our Ears had never been accustomed, precipitated our Surrender to the Venetians, whose Forces and Fortune were not of that Confideration as of themselves to in-B 4 vite

A. D. vite us to it. And how great a Difference there is between Faults committed thro' Fear or Mistake, and Offences that proceed from Fraud, and an evil Intention, every one must be sensible. But even supposing that it was not our Fear but Inclination that prompted us to Rebellion, and that it was with the universal Consent and Concurrence of all the People, and not rather, in so great a Confusion, the Act and audacious Attempt of a Few not opposed by the rest, and that the Offences of this unhappy City are of all others the most inexcusable, yet such have been our Calamities since that Time, that we may truly fay that our Repentance has without Comparison attoned for our Offence. For within our Walls we have been miserably plundered and devoured by the Soldiers appointed for our Guard, and who can be ignorant of what our Territory has suffered in a continual War? What have we left? All the Houses on our Estates are burnt, all our Trees cut down, and our Stock of Cattle destroyed; for two Seafons we have not been able to gather our Harvest, and the Sowing of our

our Seed has in a great measure been A. D. obstructed; so that we are deprived of our Revenues, of our Profits, and of all Hopes that this ruined Country can ever recover itself. We are reduced to so great Straits, and in fuch Mifery, that all our Stores, and what ever we had fecreted to fustain our Lives, and to supply all the infinite but necessary Expences, being exhausted, we are at a Loss to know how, for the future, to provide Bread for ourselves and our Families. Let the most cruel and inveterate of our Enemies, who has feen our Country in its former State, come and take a View of it in its present Condition, and we are fatisfied that he will not abstain from shedding Tears; when he considers that this City, which, tho' small in Compass, was ever full of People, had a pompous and grand Appearance, was beautified with superb and costly Edifices, the continual Refort of Foreigners, a City where nothing was minded but Feafting, Tilting, and Pleafures, is now, alas! become in a manner destitute of Inhabitants. her Ladies and Gentlemen appearing in the meanest Dresses, not a House open, nor

A. D. a Housekeeper that can promise himself 1510. a Sufficiency to maintain himself and his Family for a fingle Month. Instead of magnificent Shows, Feaftings, and Pleafures, you fee and hear nothing but Miferies, public Lamentations of all Sorts of People, and the doleful Cries and Wailings of Women bemoaning themselves in all our Streets. And yet the Weight of our Afflictions would still fit heavier, and fink us into Defpair, did we not remember, most glorious Prince of Anhalt, that on your Will depends either the utter Defolation of our forlorn and diffreffed Country, or our Hope, that, under the Shadow of Cæsar, thro' the wise and merciful Administration of your Highness, it may, we cannot fay revive and recover itself, for that is impossible, but that, struggling through all Extremities to the End of our Lives, we may at least be redeemed from present Destruction; and this we have Reason to hope from your known Integrity and Humanity, it being probable that you study to imitate Cæfar, of whose Gentleness and Clemency all Europe abounds with Examples. Our Substance

stance is wasted, all our Expectations are at an End, we have nothing left but our Lives and our Persons, on which to exercife Vengeance and Cruelty, what Profit would it be to Cæfar, or what Praise to yourself? Permit us Supplicants to addrefs your Highness with our most humble Prayers, which you are to suppose accompanied with the Lamentations of all Ages, Sexes, and Ranks in our City, that you would be pleafed that poor unfortunate Vicenza might be an Example to all others of the Mildness of the German Government; that you would refemble in Clemency and Magnanimity the noble Spirit of your Ancestors, who after their Victories in Italy preserved the conquered Cities, chufing many of them for their own Residence. From them, to the great Honour of the German Blood, descended so many illustrious Families in Italy, and those of Gonzaga, Carrara, and Scala, our antient Lords. And at the fame Time let Vicenza be an Example that the Venetians, whom we have affifted and supported even in their smallest Dangers, have shamefully abandoned us in Notion,

A. D. in our greatest Distress when they were bound to defend us; and that the Germans, who had some Cause to be offended with us, have gloriously condescended to our Preservation. Do you, O most invincible Chaumont, vouchfafe to take us under your Protection, and call to mind the Example of your royal Master, whose Clemency exercised towards the Milanese and Genoese, who had voluntarily rebelled without any Cause or Necessity, got the better of their Offences and of his Indignation; and those People, having obtained a full Pardon, have, in Gratitude for so great a Benefit, ever fince continued his most devoted and faithful Subjects. If the Preservation of Vicenza, O Prince of Anhalt, be of no Service to Cafar, it will at least be for his Glory, and our City will remain a Monument of his Mercy. Our Destruction can be of no Advantage to his Affairs, but all Italy will be moved at our Oppression. Clemency will univerfally endear the Name of Cafar, and as in military Operations, and the Conduct of Armies, he refembles the antient Cæsar, so will he also in his Clemency,

mency, by which that Hero was ex- A, D. tolled to the Skies, and acquired to him- 1510. felf a more glorious and lasting Name than by his Atchievements in War. Behold, Prince, the Fate of Vicenza, that antient and famous City, that was lately the Residence of so many Noblemen, is in your Breast; from you she expects her Preservation or Destruction, her Life or Death. May you take Compassion on so many innocent People, so many unfortunate Women and helpless Children, who had no Concern in the Madness and Blunders of that calamitous Night, and now with Wailings and Lamentations expect your Resolution. Let us but hear the welcome Voice of Mercy and Clemency, and our drooping Country shall revive, and forever call you its Father and Preferver."d awo I od sawt or reshe

But neither this tender Speech, nor a compassionate Regard to the unhappy Citizens, could in the least soften the Spirit of the Prince of Anhalt, who, with the Insolence of a Barbarian, and the Cruelty of a German, could not forbear shewing

march off; but you were so malignant

THE HISTORY OF

as in his Actions, and therefore returned a most inhuman Answer, which a Civilian, his Auditor, by his Commandment, pronounced in the following Words:

the Lendence of to many Noblemen, Answer of THINK not, ye Rebels of Vicenza, the Prince that your fine and flattering Speeches can efface the Memory of your Offences committed in high Contempt of the Authority of Cafar, when, without any Regard to his Majesty, or his gracious Acceptance of your Submission, by Combination and Confent of your whole City, ye invited within your Walls the Venetian Army. Those Troops having, with the greatest Difficulty, made themselves Masters of the Suburb, and despairing after to force the Town, had refolved to march off; but you were fo malignant and audacious, that, in spite of all the Opposition made by the Prince who was entrusted with the Power and Authority of Cæsar, you constrained him to retire into the Castle, and with Hearts full of Rage and Venom seized upon Cæfar's

Cafar's Artillery and Stores, and tore in Pieces the Standards which he had difplayed in so many Battles, and carried before him in so many Triumphs. These Things were done, not by the Venetian Soldiers, but by the People of Vicenza, by which they discovered their immoderate Thirst after the Blood of the Germans. It was not for want of Perfidy in you, that the Venetians did not lay hold of the Opportunity, in the Career of their Success, to seize on Verona. It is in vain to plead in your Defence the Advice and Persuasions of Fracassa, who has been falfly calumniated by you, and made his Innocence fully appear. No, it was the fole Refult of your own Malignity and Hatred, which, for no Reason, you have conceived against the Name of the Ger-Your Offences are inexcufable, they are even fo great that they deferve no Forgiveness. It would not only be highly prejudicial but blameable to exercife Clemency towards you; for we know very well that you wait for nothing but an Opportunity to be guilty of worfe Offences. Yours are not Errors, they

THE HISTORY OF

A. D. are Wickednesses, and the Losses you have received are not to be reckoned on the Score of Repentance for your Mifdeeds, but because you had chosen contumaciously to persevere in your Rebellion; and now you are abandoned by the Venetians, and have no Means left to defend yourselves, you sly for Refuge to the Pity and Compassion of Cæsar, which you have lately abused. The Prince had refolved not to hear you; fuch was the Intention and Commission of Casar, but he could not deny you an Audieuce on Chaumont's Request. Take notice, however, that the Sentence which, from the Day of your Rebellion, has been ever fixed in the Mind of Cæsar, is unalterable, and stands thus: The Prince will not receive you but on Condition of furrendering your Estates, Lives, and Honours to his Discretion. Nor flatter yourselves that he requires all this, that he may have the more Room to exercise his Clemency. for it is with a Defign that he may with the greater Liberty make you an Example of the Punishment due to all such Wretches

Wretches as have wickedly violated their A. D. Faith to their Sovereign."

A N Answer so atrocious astonished the Vicentines, who stood for some time like Statues, or People bereaved of their Senses. At last they began anew with Tears and Lamentations to implore the Mercy of the Conqueror. But being checked by the fame Auditor, and reprimanded in Words more barbarous and inhuman than the first, they had been utterly at a Loss what to fay or think, had not Chaumont encouraged and advised them to give Way to Necessity, and, by a free Submission to the Will and Pleasure of the Prince, endeavour to appeale his Indignation. Cæsar, he told them, was of a very gentle Difposition, and it was not to be imagined that a Prince of fuch noble Blood, and an excellent General, would do any Thing unworthy of his Birth or Valour: That they ought not to terrify themselves with the Sharpness of the Answer, since it was rather to be wished that generous and noble Spirits would transport themselves to a furious Extravagance in Words, for VOL. V.

A. D. it often happens that by discharging Part of their Indignation in this Manner, they become less rigid and severe in their Actions. He then offered to be their Intercessor, for mitigating the Anger of the Prince, after they had first made their free Submission as required. The Vicentines took his Advice, and compelled by Necessity proftrated themselves to the Vicentines Earth, and made an absolute Surrender

Discretion of themselves and of their City into the

Power of the Conqueror. Chaumont then took upon himself to speak, and advised the Prince, in punishing the Vicentines, to regard rather the Greatness and Reputation of Casar than their Demerits; and to be cautious of shewing an Example to others who had fallen, or might hereafter fall into the like Errors, which might induce them, from a Despair of obtaining Forgiveness, to persevere in them with the utmost Obstinacy. Clemency, he faid, had always procured Benevolence and Reputation to Princes, but that Cruelty, where it was not necessary, had constantly produced a contrary Effect, and did not remove.

as some inprudently imagined, Difficulties A. D. and Impediments, but increased, and rendered them more formidable. The Authority of Chaumont had fuch an Effect, that, in conjunction with the Entreaties of many others, added to the miserable Lamentation of the Vicentines, Anhalt at last condescended to promise that their Persons should be safe, but they were to leave all their Substance to his free and absolute Disposal. But the Prey came far short of Expectation, for the City was left almost destitute of Goods as well as of Inhabitants. But the barbarous Germans being on the Search, and informed that Numbers of the Citizens and Peafants, with their Effects, had taken Shelter in a certain Mountain near to Vicenza, within two Caverns called the Grotta of Masano, where, from the Strength of the Place, and the Difficulty of the Entrance, they thought themselves in Security, they went to plunder them; and having attacked the greater Cavern in vain, and not without some Loss, they removed to the lesser; but not being able to force an Entrance they made very large Fires, and got possession

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36 A. D. possession of it by means of the Smoke, where, asit was reported, above One Thoufand Persons perished *.

> VICENZA being taken, the Generals found greater Difficulties in profecuting their Enterprises than they had at first foreseen. For Maximilian had not taken the Field against the Venetians, as he had promised, and his Troops were continually diminishing for want of Pay, so that Chaumont was obliged to turn all his Thoughts on providing for the Defence of Vicenza; and yet being fensible that all he had hitherto done was of no Signification unless he made himself also Master of Lignago, he refolved to undertake the Siege of that Place. The River Adice passes through the Town of Lignago, the leffer Part of which lying towards Montagnana is called Porto, where the Venetians, not confiding so much in the Strength of the Town, or in the Bravery of the Defendants, as in obstructing the Approaches of Besiegers by means of the Water,

^{*} These Caverns are divided into Vaults in manner of a Labyrinth, and were made by digging out the Stones for building. Bembo.

Water, had cut the River in one Place; and had made two other Cuts in the Bank on which the greater Part of the Town is fituated, through which Breaches the River dispersing itself into several Branches, overflowed the lower Grounds, and covered the Country around in fuch a Manner, that, lying under Water for many Months together, it was become like a Morafs. But the Rashness and Disorder of the Venetian Troops in some measure facilitated the Enterprise, For Chaumont coming with his Army to take up his Quarters at Minerbio, three Miles distant from Lignago, ordered forward some of his Horse and Foot, who, in passing the last Branch of the overflowing River, half a Mile from Lignago, were attacked by the Garrison of Porto, which had marched out to dispute the Passage. But the Gascon and Spanish Foot boldly entered the Waters, up to their Breast, and repulfing the Enemy, purfued them with fuch Fury that they entered together with them into Porto. Few of the Venetians escaped, for besides those that were killed in the Fight, most of the rest endeavour-

ing

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A. D.

A. D. ing to retire into Lignago were drowned in passing the Adice. On this Success Chaumont changed his Design of quartering at Minerbio, and took up his Lodgings the fame Night in Porto; and having halled along the heavy Cannon under the Water, the firm Bottom of the Soil fustaining their Weight, the same Night he ordered the Breach of the River to be stopped by the Pioneers. He was fenfible that Lignago was impregnable if the Siege was made only from the Side of Porto, because of the Breadth of the River, which was fo great that the Town could hardly be battered from that Quarter, notwithflanding the Stream is not fo wide between the Slopes of the Banks from Lignago to Porto, as it is below. He ordered therefore a Bridge to be laid for passing his Artillery and the greater Part of his Army. But finding the Boats he had with him were not fufficient for constructing a Bridge over fo wide a Stream, he encamped with his Army near the River, on the Side opposite to Lignago, and ordered General Molard, with Four Thoufand Gascons and Six Pieces of Cannon, to pass

pass the Adice in the Boats. This done, he began, from both Sides of the River to batter the Fort erected on the Rifing of the Bank, at the uppermost Point of the Town. Part of the Fort being ruined, tho' the Defendants did their utmost for repairing the Breaches, the next Night the Venetian Proveditor, in despair of defending the Place, retreated on a fudden, with some Venetian Noblemen, into the Castle. As soon as it was Day the Governor finding himself abandoned by the Proveditor, furrendered the Fort to Molard, on condition that the Garrison should be fafe in their Persons and Effects; but as foon as they had marched out, they were difarmed and stripped by the Soldiers of the Camp. The Fort being taken the Town was plundered, and the Garrison of another Fort erected at the other Point of the Town abandoned it, and fled through the Marshes, leaving their Arms where they entered the Waters. The Caftle made no better Defence than the Town; for the next Day the Cannon having ruined the Works, and the Miners being fet to work under an Angle of a Tower C 4 in

40

A. D. in order to blow it up, the Besieged capi-

Lignogo taken.

tulated on Articles, by which the Venetian Noblemen were to remain Prisoners to Chaumont, and the Soldiers to leave their Arms, and march off in their Waistcoats. Thus, by the Cowardice of the Defendants, was Lignago reduced with more Ease and Speed than had been imagined. But Fortune took care to allay the Joy of Chaumont on these happy Successes by the difagreeable News of the Death of the Death of Cardinal of Rouen, his Uncle, by whose prevailing Interest with the King of France

he had been exalted to very great Riches and Honours, and was in continual Expectation of greater Favours. In Lignago, where the Germans were incapable of putting any Troops, Chaumont left a Garrison of One Hundred Lances and One Thousand Foot, and after he had difmissed the Grison and Vallese Infantry, was preparing to return with the Remainder of the Army into the Dutchy of Milan, by the Orders of his King, who was un-

the Cardinal of Rouen.

> willing to be any longer at fuch vast Expences, which produced no important Advantage, because the Provisions made

on the Part of Cæsar were no way answer. A. D. able to the Resolutions that had been taken. The King however afterwards ordered Chaumont to keep the Field during the whole Month of June, because Cæsar, who was arrived at Inspruck, full, as usual, of Dissiculties as well as of Hopes and Designs, made Instances with his Majesty not to withdraw his Forces, continually promising to pass directly into Italy.

AT this time the Germans being defirous to recover Marostico, Cittadella, Basciano, and the circumjacent Towns, in order to facilitate the Passage of Casar on that Side, Chaumont encamped with his Army at Lungara on the River Bac-Progress chiglione, to prevent the Venetians from Armies taking Vicenza, which had but a small against the Garrison, and making any Opposition to the Germans. But on Advice that the Venetian Army was retired into Padoua, he again joined the German Forces, and proceeded with them to Torricelle on the main Road that goes from Vicenza to Padoua; but leaving Padoua on the right Hand, they continued their March

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A. D. to Cittadella, labouring under no small Inconveniency for want of Provisions, which were intercepted by the Enemy's light Horse from Padoua, and much more by the Garrison of Monselice. Cittadella furrendered without Refistance, as did afterwards Marostico, Basciano, and the circumjacent Towns, which were abandoned by the Venetians. The Armies, having done their Business on that Side, returned to Torricelle; and leaving Padoua on the right Hand, they fetched a Compass to the left towards the Mountain, and encamped on the Brenta, by the Side towards the Mountain, ten Miles from Vicenza. They proceeded to this Post, because the Germans were desirous of possessing Scala, which was a very commodious Pass for those Troops that were expected from Germany, and the only Town that, from Trevigi to Vicenza, was in the Hands of the Venetians. From these Quarters the Prince of Anhalt, with the Germans and One Hundred French Lances, fet out towards Scala, which was a March of twenty-five Miles; but was prevented in his Progress by the Peasants, who

who had feized on many Passes in the A. D. Mountains, and were fo incredibly zea- 15to. lous in their Affections to the Venetians, that when any were made Prisoners they chose rather to die, than to abjure or blaspheme their Government. The Prince, after taking possession of Castel Nuovo, a Pass in the same Mountain, which furrendered upon Articles, returned to his Quarters at Brenta, after ordering a good Body of Foot to march towards Scala by another Way. These Troops leaving the Road of Basciano, in order to avoid Covolo, a strong Pass in those Mountains, fetched a Compass lower down by the Road of Feltro, and finding it almost destitute of Inhabitants, they plundered and burnt it, and thence proceeded to the Pass of Scala, which, as well as Covolo, they found quite abandoned.

In the mean time the Country of Friuli suffered no less Damages, for being Miserable attacked sometimes by the Venetians, at State of other times by the Germans, and now defended, then pillaged by the Gentlemen of the Country, while some were getting Ground.

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A. D. Ground, others on the Retreat, nothing was to be feen but Slaughters, Plunders, and Burnings over the Face of the whole Province. And it often happened that the fame Place, which had been first pillaged by one Party, was afterwards pillaged and burnt by the other; fo that, except a very few Places of Strength, there was not a Town or a Village which was fecured from fuffering some miserable Destruction. But as no remarkable Action happened all this while, it would be tedious to recapitulate all the little Turns and Varieties of Fortune between the Parties, fince they were but of small Importance, nor any way conducive to a Decision of the War.

But now the Time appointed for the Departure of the French Troops approaching, Cæsar and the King of France came to a new Agreement, that the King's Army Cæsar and should continue in the Field a Month the King of France longer, but that the extraordinary Expences, that is, those which were necessary, besides the Payment of the Troops, which had hitherto been born by the King,

king, should for the future be discharged by Cæsar, as well as the Pay of the Foot for the Month aforesaid. And because that Prince wanted Money for these Purposes, a Calculation was made of those Expences, and the same amounting to Fifty Thousand Ducats, the King was to lend him that Sum, which if he did not repay within a Year next ensuing, together with another Fifty Thousand Ducats which had been lent him before, the King was to keep possession of Verona, and all its Territory, till he was reimbursed.

CHAUMONT, on receiving the King's Orders to suspend his Departure, formed a Design upon Monselice; for which End Proceed as soon as the Germans were joined byings of Four Hundred Spanish Lances, comfederate manded by the Duke of Termini, and Army, sent by the Catholic King to the Assistance of Maximilian, tho' artfully retarded hitherto by very slow Marches, the Armies decamped and passed the River Brenta, and after that the Bacchiglione at the Village of Purla, about Five Miles from Padoua, from whence they arrived before

fuffered greatly for want of Provisions and Forage by the Excursions of the Horse from Padoua and Monselice, in one of which was taken Prisoner Soncino Benzone of Crema, an Officer of the King of France, who with a few Horse was gone out to meet the Escorts; and because he had been the Author of the Revolt of Crema, Andrea Gritti, who accounted him more as a Subject of the Venetians, than as a Soldier of the Enemy, ordered him to be immediately hanged.

In the Town of Monselice, which is feated in a Plain, rises a Rock in the nature of a Mountain, from which it Monselice: is called Monselice. This Rock has on its Top a Castle, and on the Rising of the Hill, which gradually lessens all the Way to the Summit, are three Precincts of Walls, the lowermost of which incloses as much Space as would require Two Thousand Men to defend it against a well appointed Army. The Town was immediately abandoned, and the French

taking possession of it, planted their Can-

non

non against the first Precinct of Walls; and, after a warm Battery on feveral Sides, the Spanish and Gascon Foot began to approach the Wall in a diforderly Manner, and attempted to leap into the Place in many Parts at once. The Garrison, which confisted of Seven Hundred Foot, imagining that this was a regular Affault, and not being numerous enough to refift an Attack in feveral Places at once, made but a weak Defence, and began to retire, pursuant, as it was thought, to a Resolution they had before taken among themfelves. But they retreated in fuch Diforder, that the Enemy, who had already begun to enter the Place, and to skirmish with the Garrison, followed them so Monselice closely, and pressed upon them so vigoroully, that they entered together with them into the other two Precincts of Walls, and from thence into the Castle of that Fortress, where they cut to Pieces the greater Part of the Garrison, the rest retiring into the Donjon, where they would have furrendered on condition of faving their Lives, but were not accepted by the Germans, who at last blew up the Donjon;

47 A. D. 1510.

Donjon; fo that of Seven Hundred Men, among whom were five Captains, and the Commander in chief, Martino of Borgo a San Sepulchro in Tuscany, very few were faved, their Calamities meeting with the less Compassion on account of their Cowardice. Nor did the Cruelty of the Germans discharge itself with less Fury upon the Walls and Houses, for they did not only ruin the Fortifications because they could spare no Troops to garrison them, but set Fire to the Town. After this the confederate Army did nothing worthy of Notice, except that a Party of Four Hundred French Lances scoured the Country up to the very Gates of Padoua.

The Duke of Ferrara now left the Camp, and with him went also Chatillon, by Order of Chaumont, with Two Hundred and Fifty Lances for the Guard of Ferrara, which was thought to be in no small Danger from the Neighbourhood of the Pope's Army. But the Germans were continually solliciting Chaumont to lay Siege to Trevigi, as it had been first concerted between them, representing to him that

all that they had done hitherto at fo vast A. D. an Expence was of but little Importance without the Conquest of that City, for they had given over all Hopes of making themselves Masters of Padoua. But Chaumont answered that Cafar had not passed into Italy against the Venetians with those Forces which he had promifed, and that those Troops of his which had acted in conjunction with the French were reduced to a small Number; that Trevigi had a numerous Garrison, and was very strongly fortified; that no Provisions were to be had in the Country, and it was very difficult to convey them from far distant Places to the Camp, on account of the continual Molestations from the Enemy's light Horse and Stradiotti, who, by the Diligence of the Peasants, were informed of the least Motion they made, and were so numerous that they shewed themselves in every Place where they were capable of doing any Damage. The Arrival of fresh Orders to Chaumont from France put an End to these Disputes. They contained Directions for that General to leave with the Germans

400 Lances and 1500 Spanish Infantry, to Armies be feparate. Vol. V.

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French

A. D. be paid by the King, besides those that were in Garrison at Lignago, and to return with the Army immediately into the Dutchy of Milan; for the Clouds feemed to be gathering, and a Multitude of Troubles and Dangers began already to disclose themselves, which were raised by the Instigation of the Pope. Chaumont therefore, leaving the Command of those Troops to Monf. Perfi, followed the Orders of the King; and the Germans, not thinking themfelves capable of effecting any thing of Importance, went into Quarters at Lunigo.

THE Pontiff had proposed to himself, and pertinaciously perfished in employing all his Thoughts, not only to reinstate the Church in the Possession of many States which, as he pretended, did belong to it, but also to drive the King of France out of all that he possessed in Italy. What Pope meditates the animated him against the King was either Expulsion an old and private Enmity which he had conceived against him, or because the from Italy Jealoufy which he had entertained of him was, in a Course of so many Years, converted into a perfect Hatred; or else

he was moved, as he faid himself after- A. D. wards, by an ambitious Defire of the 1510. Glory of being the Deliverer of Italy from Barbarians. With this View he had abfolved the Venetians from their Cenfures. For this End he had established a Correspondence, and entered into a strict Alliance, with the Swifs; but pretending all the while, that he took these Measures more for his own Security, than with an Intention to molest others. For the same Purposes, when he found himself unable to separate the Duke of Ferrara from the French Interest, he had resolved to use his utmost Efforts to get possession of his Dutchy, giving out that he had put his Troops in Motion only on account of the Differences concerning the Customs and the Salt-works. That he might not, however, totally disclose his Intentions before Matters were better prepared for Execution, he treated continually with Alberto Pio about coming to an Agreement with the King of France. That Prince perfuading himself that his Holiness differed with him only on account of the Protection which he had granted to the Duke of Ferrara, D 2

A. D. and desirous by all means to avoid making him his Enemy, consented to enter into a new Convention with him, referring him-King of felf to the Articles of Cambray, in which seeks a it was expressly mentioned that not one of Reconciliation with the Confederates should intrude himself inthe Pope. to Affairs belonging to the Church; and

now taking Care to infert fuch Words and Clauses, that it might be lawful for the Pope to proceed against the Duke of Ferrara as far as regarded in particular the Customs and Salt-works, which were the only Points, as the King imagined, that his Holiness had in View; and therefore he interpreted the Obligation he lay under to protect the Duke, in such a Manner as to make it seem lawful for him to make such an Agreement*.

But the nearer the King condescended to the Pope's Demands, the farther did the The Pope Pope stand off, and keep at a Distance:

averse to Nor was he in any respect the more pliable an Agreement.

by

^{*} The Defire of the King of France to avoid the Enmity of the Pope was much increased by the Intreaties of Queen Anne, his Confort, a good and pious Lady, who being with Child was in fear that she should miscarry if the King came to a Rupture with His Holiness.

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by the Death of the Cardinal of Rouen; A. D. for to those who exhorted him to think of Peace, fince all Occasions of Jealousy were now removed, he answered, that the same King was living, and therefore the fame Cause of Jealousy subsisted; adding, in Confirmation of his Words, that he knew that the Agreement made by the Cardinal of Pavia had been broken by the King, of his own meer Motion, contrary to the Will and Advice of the Cardinal of Rouen. And indeed to those who considered, with more than ordinary Attention, the Steps taken by the Pope, it appeared that his Spirits and Hopes were increased and enlivened on this Event; and not without Reason: For the King was of such a Disposition that he was fitter to receive than to give Directions in Matters of State; and it is not to be doubted but that the Death of the Cardinal of Rouen much weakened his Administration, if we consider that this Prelate, befides his long Experience, was of extraordinary Merit, and bore a mighty Sway, and had fo great an Authority with the King that his Counsel was almost constantly followed; hence, trusting to his D 3 Merit,

A. D. Merit, he frequently took upon him to resolve in Matters of Importance, and to make fuch Regulations in public Affairs as best fuited his own Schemes. These were Qualifications not to be found in any of those that succeeded him in the Administration, who were so far from coming to a Resolution of themselves in Affairs concerning the State, that they durst not even speak to the King on such Points as they knew would disturb him. Nor did the King himself repose the same Confidence in their Advice; and the Affairs of the Public being now entrnsted in the Hands of Many, who were cautious of offending one another, and not confideing in their new Authority, they proceeded with lefs Resolution, and more Coolness than the Importance of the prefent Juncture required, or than was necessary to obviate the Ardor and Impetuofity of the Pope. For his Holiness would not accept of any of the Expedients proposed by the King, but, at last, openly insisted that his Majesty should renounce, simply and absolutely, and without any Limitation, his Protection of the Duke of Ferrara. And

And when the King endeavoured to con- A. D. vince him that fuch a Renunciation would cast too much Infamy upon him, he anfwered in short, that fince his Majesty refused to renounce simply, he would enter into no Agreement with him, nor yet act in Opposition to him, but would preserve himself free from all Obligations to any Person whatever, and quietly attend to the Defence of the State of the Church. He complained more than ever of the Duke of Ferrara; who being advised by his Friends to defift from making of Salt, answered, that he could not follow their Counsel, because he was not willing to prejudice the Rights of the Empire, to which the Dominion of Comaccbio directly belonged.

But, besides this, it was then thought, Ambassa-dor abuses and in process of Time came to be firmly his Trust. believed, that Alberto Pio, Ambassador of the King of France, did not discharge his Office with Fidelity, but exasperated the Pontiff against the Duke of Ferrara, from an ardent Defire, in which he continued till his Death, that Alfonso should be de-

prived

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A. D prived of the Dutchy of Ferrara. For Ercole, the Father of Alfonso, having, not many Years before, received of Gilberto Pio a Moiety of the Dominion of Carpi, for which he gave him in Compensation the Castle of Sassuolo, with some other Lands, Alberto was apprehensive that, as it often happens for the weaker of two Neighbours to be forced to give way to the covetous Desire of the stronger, he should be obliged at last to make a Cession of the other Moiety, which was his own Property. But be that as it will, the Pope shewed more Signs of an implacable Spirit against Alfonso, and being determined to attack him by Force of Arms, he prepared for proceeding against him with Censures; and to justify his Measures he founded his Cause particularly on an Investiture which, he faid, he had found among the Writings of the Apostolic Chamber, containing the Grant of the Town of Comacchio by the Popes to the House of Este.

THESE were the Pontiff's open and avowed Proceedings, while in fecret he was forming Defigns of much greater Undertakings.

Undertakings. And he flattered himfelf A. D. that he had laid a good Foundation for the Success of his Schemes, fince the Savis were his Friends, and the Venetians were now couraged on their Feet again, and at his Devotion; in his Dethe King of Aragon, he knew, was in-figns. clined to enter into his Measures, or, at leaft, was no hearty Ally to the King of France; Cæsar was so weak in Forces and Authority, that he had no Reason to be afraid of him; and he was not without Hopes of stirring up the King of England. But what above all things increased and hardened his Spirit, which ought to have foftened it, was his knowing that the King of France had fuch an Abhorrence of making War against the Church, that he defired nothing so much as Peace; whence it was manifest that he would always have it in his Power to make an Agreement with that Monarch, even after he had taken up Arms against him.

JULIUS, on these Encouragements, grew every Day more insolent, and openly indulged himself in repeating his Complaints and Menaces against the King of France

A. D. France and the Duke of Ferrara. On the Festival of St. Peter, which is the Day appointed by antient Custom for offering the Tributes due to the Apostolic See, he refused to accept the Tribute of the Duke of Ferrara, alledging, that the Concession of Alexander VI. who, at the Marriage of his Daughter, had reduced it from 4000 Ducats to a hundred, was not valid, as done in Prejudice to that See. And the same Day, having before refused to grant Leave to the Cardinal of Ausch and the other French Cardinals to return into France, being informed that the Cardinal of Ausch was gone out with Nets and Dogs into the Country, he had an unreasonable Suspicion that he designed to convey himself away privately, and ordered him in all Haste to be seized, and confined in the Castle of Saint Angelo. And now he had thus openly discovered that he was fallen at Variance with the King of France, he was obliged fo much to engage the more to enlarge his Foundations, and strengthen himself on a better Bottom. With this View he granted the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples to the Catholic

Pope feeks the King of Spain.

tholic King, with the same Tribute on A. D. which the Aragonian Kings had obtained it; though before he had denied to grant it under a Tribute of 48000 Ducats, which the Kings of Naples of the French Race had paid for it. Julius, in granting this Favour, had not fo much an Eye to the Obligation by which that King, according to the antient Custom of Investitures, was bound to furnish, whenever it should be required, 300 Men at Arms for the Defence of the Ecclefiastical State, as a Defire to gain his Friendship, and Hopes that these Assistances * might, at a proper Opportunity, induce him to declare himfelf openly against the King of France. And, indeed, the Seeds of Discontent were already fown between the two Kings: For his Catholic Majesty was under Apprehensions from the Greatness of the King of France, and jealous of his Ambition, which would not fuffer him to content himself with the Limits prescribed him by the League of Cambray, but excited him to bring under his Dominion the City of Verona. He was also stimulated by his old Emulation,

^{*} Which he might expect from the Swift, Venetians, and himself.

A. D. Emulation, which made him ardently defirous of stopping his prosperous Career, and preventing the Accomplishment of his Designs. For this End he was continually labouring to bring about an Agreement between Cafar and the Venetians, fo much defired by the Pope; and though Ferdinando was extremely wary and fecret in taking these Measures, it was yet impossible to cover his Designs so as to guard against a Suspicion. Whilst therefore his Armada, defigned for the Attack of the Island of Gerbe, called, by the Latins, Meninge, lay of Sicily, it raised the Jealousy of his Most Christian Majesty, and Doubts and Apprehensions in the Minds of those who were acquainted with the Spanish King's Arts of difguifing his real Intentions.*

But now came fresh Troubles upon the King of France, who was alarmed from a

* This Armada of Ferdinando, after the Conquest of Tripoli in Barbray, attacked the Island of Gerbe; but the Soldiers wanting Water, and marching in Search of it, fell into an Ambush of the Moors, and were all cut to Pieces, to the Number of 4000, and among them Don Garzia, Son of the Duke of Alva, a valiant Youth of great Hopes. Bishop of Nebbio.

Quarter whence he least expected it, and A. D. at a Time when he thought himself secure from all Preparations of War, of which there did not appear the least Movement. For the Pope carrying on his Defigns with the deepest Secrecy, had contrived that Genoa should be attacked both by Land and Sea at the same Time; that 12000 Swifs should make a Descent into the Dutchy of Milan, and that the Venetians, cret Prowith their whole united Strength, should jeds. put themselves in Motion for recovering their Towns which were in the Possession of Cæsar; and his own Army should enter the Territory of Ferrara, with an Intention, if the Swiss went on prosperously, to proceed from thence into the Dutchy of Milan. He was in hopes that, if Genoa were unexpectedly attacked, he could eafily effect a Revolution in that City, by the Favour of Multitudes who were averfe to the French Government; and that the Party of the Fregosi might be induced to affist in the Undertaking, the Proceedings were to pass under the Notion of creating Doge Ottaviano, whose Father and Uncle had enjoyed the same Dignity. The French, he

Commotion in Genoa, and attacked by the Swifs, would recall all the Troops which they had fent to the Affistance of Cæsar and the Duke of Ferrara into the Dutchy of Milan; by which Means the Venetians might easily recover Verona, and afterwards proceed against the State of Milan; and his own Troops might without Difficulty, as he hoped, get Possession of Ferrara, abandoned by the French Auxiliaries. All these things considered, made it appear impossible for the French to defend the Milanese against so many Enemies, and so sudden an Attack.

Pope attacks Ferrara. THE Enterprises against Ferrara and Genoa were undertaken at the same Time: For though the Duke of Ferrara, against whom the Pontiss, to hasten the Execution, proceeded as against a notorious Delinquent, had offered to give him what Salts he had made at Comacchio, and promised to make no more, he dismissed his Ambassadors from his Court, and gave Orders to his Troops to march against him. The Castles of Cento and

la Pieve

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la Pieve were furrendered to them on the A. D. Summons only of a Trumpet, Alfonso 1510. making no Defence. Those Places, which first belonged to the Bishopric of Bologna, were appropriated to the Dutchy of Ferrara by Pope Alexander on the Marriage of his Daughter, and the Loss to the Bishopric made good by other Revenues.

In the Expedition against Genoa were employed twelve light Galleys of the Ve-Enternetians under Admiral Grillo Contareno, prife against and one of the Pope's. Aboard the Fleet Genoa: were Ottaviano Fregoso, Gieronimo Doria, and many other Exiles. At the fame time Marc' Antonio Colonna, with 100 Men at Arms and 600 Foot, marched against that City by Land. This Officer having left the Service of the Florentines, was enlisted by the Pope, and had taken up his Quarters in the Territory of Lucca, on Pretence of recruiting his Company, fpreading a Report that he was afterwards to march for Bologna. And though by his Station at Lucca he gave Suspicion to Chaumont of a Design against Genoa, yet he knew nothing of the Coming of the Fleet;

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A. D. and it being industriously reported, by the cunning Contrivance of the Pope, that the Preparations of the Swifs for putting themselves in Motion, and the Stay of Marc' Antonio were only with an Intention to make a fudden Attack upon Ferrara, Chaumont had made no other Provisions for the Defence of Genoa then fending thither a fmall Number of Foot. Marc' Antonio proceeded with his Troops into the Vale of Bisagna, a Mile from the walls of Genoa, though he had not been received, as the Pope had perfuaded himself, into Serzana, nor into the Town of Specie.* At the fame Time, the naval Armament, which had taken Possession of Sestri and Chiaueri, had proceeded from Rapalle to the Mouth of the River Entello, which falls into the Sea near the Port of Genoa. At the first Report of the Approach of the Enemy. the Son of Gianluigi-del Fiesco entered that City at the Head of 800 Peasants, in fayour of the French, as did the Nephew

^{*} The Town of Specie was found destitute of Desence and immediately possessed by the Ecclesiastic Troops Bishop of Nebio, Mozenigo says it capitulated; and it appears below by Antonio's sending back his Troops to Specie, that the Place was open to them.

of the Cardinal of Finale, with as many A D. more; which were a fufficient Safeguard 1516. to the Place, and secured its Peace, so that no Commotion happened. Thus the Exiles and the Pope being disappointed of their principal Hopes, and farther Supplies of Troops continually arriving from Lombardy and the Western Riviera, besides Admiral Prujean having entered the Port with fix large Galleys, it was now thought not only fruitless but dangerous to remain before Genoa, and therefore the Fleet by Sea, and Marco Antonio by Land, retired to Rapalle, having by the Way made an Attempt upon Porto-fino, where Francesco Bollano, Captain of a Venetian Galley was killed. The Fleet foon after fetting out from Rapalle in order to retire to Civita Vecchia, Marco Antonio Colonna, not thinking he could conduct his Men in Safety by Land, because the whole Country was up in Arms, and the Peafants, as usual, burning with Vengeance against the Soldiers when they retreat under Misfortunes, embarked on board the Galleys with 60 of his best Horse, and sent back the rest of his Troops by Land to Specie; VOL. V. E but

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1510. Stripped in the Territories of Genoa and Lucca, and on the Borders of the Florentines.

Thus ended the Enterprise upon Genoa, not much to the Honour of Grillo and Ottaviano, because they forbore, out of Fear, to attack Prujean's Fleet, which had they done before it got into the Port of Genoa, it was believed that, by their Superiority, they might have obtained a confiderable Advantage. After their Departure Prujean set out of the Port with seven Galleys and four Ships in pursuit of the Venetian Squadron, which, though fuperior in Number of Galleys, was inferior in Ships. Both Squadrons put in at the Isle of Elba, the Venetians into Porto Lungone, and the French into Porto Ferrajo; but the French Squadron, after following the Enemy along the Coast as far as Monte Argentaro, returned to Genoa.

THE Troops of the Pontiff, under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, were by this Time entered into *Romagna* against the

the Duke of Ferrara: Here, after they had taken the Town of Lugo, Bagnacavallo, and all that the Duke poffeffed on this Side the Po, they laid Siege to the Castle of Lugo. But, while they lay here in a careless and disorderly Posture, on receiving Intelligence that the Duke of Ferrara, with the French Troops and 150 Men at Arms of his own, and a good Number of Light Horse, were coming to fuccour the Place, the Duke of Urbino raifed the Siege in all Haste, and leaving three Pieces of Cannon behind him retired to Imola; and Alfonso laid hold of this Opportunity for recovering all that had been taken from him in Romagna. But the Ecclesiastic Army being put in good Order, and confiderably augmented, the fame Towns were eafily retaken, and in a short time after the Castle of Lugo was furrendered, after it had stood a Battery of feveral Days. After the Taking of this Place, an Opportunity presented itself for greater Success: For there being no Garrison in Modena, the Duke being employed in making Provisions for the Defence of other Places where the Danger was nearest, E 2

A. D. and not able to furnish the necessary Supplies of himself, nor obtain of Chaumont an Order for 200 Lances to be fent into that Place, the Cardinal of Pavia marching with the Army to Castel Franco, suddenly took Poffession of that City by Agreement, being invited thither by Gherardo and Fran-Pope's Ar-cesco Maria Rangoni, Noblemen of Modena, of fo great Authority, that they had my takes Modena. it in their Power, especially Gherardo, to dispose of the Place into what Hands they pleafed; and were incited to take this Step, as it was believed, more by Ambition and a Defire of Change, than by any other Motive. After the Loss of Modena, Alfonso, being in Pain for Reggio, immediately put some Troops into that City; and Chaumont, regretting his former Want of Precaution in not faving Modena, ordered thither 200 Lances, though he could not fo well spare them on account of the Motions of the Swifs.

THE Confederacy between the King of France and the Swiss was expired many Months ago, the King persisting in his Resolution not to augment their Pensions, though

though contrary to the Advice of his whole A. D. Council, who represented to his Majesty the dangerous Consequences of making that Nation his Enemies, by whose Arms he had before struck a Terror into all that opposed him. The Swiss therefore resting themselves on the Authority and Promises of the Pontiff, and instigated by the Bishop of Sion, but above all provoked to Indignation against the King for his rejecting their Demands, had in a general Diet of the Cantons, held at Lucern, refolved, by a vast Majority, to take the Field against the French. Chaumont, foreseeing their Motions, had posted Guards at the Passes towards Corno, removed all the Boats from the Lake, ordered the Provision to be brought into Places of Security, and the Mills to be rendered useless. Uncertain however whether the Swiss would attempt a Descent into the Dutchy of Milan, or paffing the Mountain of San Bernardo enter Piedmont by the Valley of Augusta, in order to march to Savona with an Intention to raife Commotions in Genoa; or from thence to pass the Apennine, and march against the Duke of Ferrara, he had pre-E 3 vailed

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A D. vailed with the Duke of Savoy to refuse them a Passage; and, the more effectually to prevent it, had, with the Duke's Confent, ordered 500 Lances to march for Jurea. In the mean time he used all his Endeavours to divert them from their Enterprise, by corrupting the Heads of the Cantons with Gifts and Promifes. But all he could do was of no Effect; for so great was their Hatred, and so much were they incensed, especially the common People, against the Name of the King of France, that they regarded the Cause as their own Concern; and, notwithstanding the Difficulties they met with in getting Remittances from Rome, because the Fouquiers, German Merchants, who had undertaken to pay them, now refused it, for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the King of the Romans, 6000 of them, who were in the Pope's Pay, put themselves in Motion at the Beginning of September. Among this Body were 400 Horse, Half of whom carried Fire-Arms; of the Foot 2500 were armed with common Guns, and fifty with Harquebusses; without Cannon, or any Provision of Pontons or Boats. They set out

Sawiss march a gainst the French.

by the Road to Belinzone, and took Pofferfilm of the Bridge of Tresa, which was abandoned by 600 French Foot appointed to guard that Post, and halted at Varese, in Expectation, as they gave out, of the Bishop of Sion with another Body of Troops.

THE French were very much concerned at these Motions, both for the common Terror which the Swiss carried with them, and more especially on account of the small Number of Men at Arms which they had at Milan; for Part of them were distributed into Garrisons at Brescia, Lignago, and Peschiera; 300 Lances had been sent to the Affistance of the Duke of Ferrara, and 500 ferved in the German Army against the Venetians. Chaumont, however, affembled his Forces, and marched with 500 Lances and 4000 Foot to the Plain of Castiglione, two Miles distant from Varese, having sent Orders to Gianjacopo da Trivulzi to march to the Mountain of Brianza, that with the Affistance of the Peafants, on which he had more Dependence than on the few Troops which that General carried with him, he might use E 4

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his best Endeavour to prevent the Swift Troops opening a Passage that Way. But as foon as they arrived at Varese, they sent to demand a Passage of Chaumont, saying that their Intention was to go into the Service of the Church. Chaumont, on this Message, began to doubt whether they defigned to march to Ferrara through the Dutchy of Milan, in which Road, besides the Opposition of the French, they would meet with the Difficulties of paffing the Rivers Po and Oglio; or whether they would turn to the Left, and fetching a Compass by the Hills under Como, and so by Lecco, pass the Adda in Places where it was narrow and lefs rapid, and purfuing their March over the Hills of the Bergamasco and the Brescian, pass the Oglio, and either through the Brescian or the Ghiaradadda make their Descent into the Mantouan, in which Case their March would be through a wide and open Country, where were no Towns or Forces to give them any Obstruction. In either of these Cases it was the Intention of Chaumont not come to a Battle with them, even though they should descend into the plain Country,

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mont's Measures for opposing the Sawis.

A. D.

73 so great was the Dread of the Valour and A. D. 1510. Discipline of that Nation, but to join all, his Forces, both Horse and Foot, attended with a good Number of Field Pieces, and closely to observe their Motion, intercept their Provisions, and incommode them at the Passage of Rivers as much as it was possible, without coming to an Engagement. With the like View he provided the Places about Varese with good Garrisons of Horse and Foot, which often alarmed the Swiss in the Night, and kept them continually under Arms.

AT Varese, where was already a great Want of Provisions, the Swiss were joined by 4000 more of their Comerades; and the fourth Day after their Junction they put themselves in Motion in one Body towards Castiglione, and turned towards the Progress Left by the Hills, marching flowly, but al-of the ways in close and very good Order in Files of 80 or 100 Men, the last Files consisting of those who carried, Fire-Arms. Manner they proceeded, valiantly defending themselves against the French Army, which closely attended their Progress, and annoyed

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annoyed them with perpetual Skirmishes both in Frontandin Rear; and it was customary for 100 cr 150 Swisto march out from their Body to skirmish, but neither in Advancing, Standing, or Retiring, did they ever break their Ranks. In this Order they arrived on the first Day of their March at the Bridge of Vedan, which was guarded by General Molard with some Gascon Foot, whom they dislodged with their Fire-Arms, and lodged that Night at Appiano, eight Miles from Varese, while Chaumont took up his Quarters at Affaron, a large Village towards the Mountain of Brianza, fix Miles distant from Appiano. The next Day the Swiss directed their March by the Hills on the Road to Cantù, Chaumont obferving them with only 200 Lances, having, on account of the Ruggedness of the Places, left the Artillery, with the Foot that guardedit, lower down, But when the Swiss were got half way, either on account of the Molestations which, as Chaumont boaked, they received that Day from the French, or because they had so appointed, they went off from the Road to Cantu, and turning more to the Left, marched over the

the higher Grounds retiring towards Como, A. D. and lodged at Night in the Suburbs of that City, and in the neighbouring Villages. From the Suburbs of Como they advanced three Miles, and took up their Quarters next Night at Chiaffo, keeping the French in Suspense, whether they would return to Belinzone by the Valley of Lugara, or proceed towards the Adda, over which, though they had no Pontons, many were of Opinion that they would make a Shift to pass all in a Body together on Planks. But the next Day removed all Doubts, for they marched and took up their Quarters at the Bridge of Tresa, whence they disperfed themselves to their own Habitations, their own being reduced to the last Extremities for Country. want of Bread, and vastly distressed for want of Money. And this fudden Retreat is ascribed to their being destitute of Money, and to the Difficulty of passing the Rivers, but much more to the Scarcity of Provifions.*

THUS

^{*} The Bishop of Nebbio imputes this Retreat of the Swifs to Treachery; and says, it was reported that they had received 60,000 Crowns of the Pope, and afterwards agreed

76 A. D.

Thus were the French at that Time delivered from a Danger, which had given them no little Concern; though the King, magnifying the good State of his Affairs beyond what was Truth, pretended that he was in Doubt whether it would not have been more for his Interest to have let the Swiss pass; for it was a Question whether the Pope would be weaker without Forces, or with fuch as would be burthenfome and offensive to him, which would certainly have been the Case if the Swiss had been fuffered to join him, fince he himself, who had the Command of such great Armies and Treasures, had been at infinite Pains to manage them. But the French would have run a greater Rifque, if the Enterprises concerted by the Pope had been all put in Execution at the fame Time.

agreed with the King. He adds, that though they had retained their antient Firmness and Order in Battles, they had for many Years renounced their antient Fidelity. Mocenigo says that they returned home for want of Provisions; though he owns that they made an Agreement with the King of France; and he praises Chaumont to the Skies for knowing how to temporise and reduce them to Straits; comparing his Conduct with that of Fabius Maximus against Annibal.

Time. But as the Enterprise upon Genoa A. D. 1510. preceded the Movement of the Swifs, for the Venetian Army was more backward in taking the Field than had been defigned, though they had a very fair Opportunity. For the German Troops which, after the Departure of Chaumont, remained, together with the Spanish Infantry and the Five Hundred French Lances, in the Vicentine, being much diminished, the Venetian Army marched out of Padoua, and easily recovered Esti, Monselice, Montagnana, Maroftico, and Basciano; and still advancing forwards, and the German Troops retreating towards Verona, entered Vicenza, which was abandoned by the Enemy; and, except Lignago, they re-recover covered all that they had lost that Sum-Vicenza, mer with fuch vast Expence and Labour &c. of the French. From Vicenza they proceeded to San Martino, five Miles distant from Verona, the Enemy retiring into that City; and their Retreat would not have been without Danger, if it be true, as the Venetians affirm, that Lucio Malvezzo*,

* Bembo charges Lucio with Neglect and Cowardice; but Mocenigo says, that Lucio's Advice was to proceed warily, 78

A. D. who, by Gian Pagolo Baglione's leaving the Service of the Venetians, had the Command of the Army, had not wanted Spirit and Resolution to attack them. For the Venetian Army being advanced to Villa della Torre, the Enemy leaving great Store of Provisions in their Camp retired to Verona, the Venetians following them with their whole Force, and harraffing them continually with their Light Horse; but the Frenchin the Rear guard manfully fustained their Attacks, being much favoured by their Artillery, and afterwards passing the River Arpano, continued their March without Loss to Villa Nuova. The Venetians encamped at the Distance of half a Mile from them; but the next Day, not caring to follow them, because, as they alledged, their Infantry could not keep up with the Horse, the Germans safely retired into Verona. From Martino, after a Delay of feveral Days, the Venetian Army approached Verona, not without Blame for deferring it folong, and, began to batter with their Cannon, planted on an opposite Hill, the

rily, and not to run the Hazard of losing the Acquisitions they had made; and that it was sufficient for their Honour to put the Enemy to Flight.

79 A. D. 1510.

Castle of San Felice, and the adjoining Wall; chusing perhaps that Place, because, a Breach could not be repaired there without Difficulty, and because it was very incommodiously situated for the Enemy to make use of their Horse. The Venetian Army comfifted of Eight Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Light Horse, the greater Part Stradiotti, and Ten Thoufand Foot, befides a vast Multitude of Peafants. The Garrison of Verona-was composed of Three Hundred Spanish Lances, One Hundred German and Italian Lances. above Four Hundred French Lances, Five Hundred Foot in the Pay of the King, and Four Thousand Germans; but no longer under the Command of the Prince of Anhalt, for he died some 'Days before. The People of Verona were disaffected to the Germans, and had Arms in their Hands, on which the Venetians grounded much of their Hopes. In the mean time their Light Horse waded the Adice at a Ford below Verona, and scoured the whole Country. The Venetians continued to batter the Wall with great Fury, though the Cannon of the French in Garrison being covered by

A. D. its Rampart did great Execution among the Besiegers, who were not intrenched, and Lattantio da Bergamo, one of their best Officers of Foot, had his Buttocks taken off by a Cannon Ball, and died a few Days after. At length the Artillery of the Besiegers had ruined a great Part of the Wall quite to the Edge of the Scarp, and the Cannon on that Side being all difmounted, fo as not to be any longer in a Condition to fire, the Germans were not without Fear of losing the Castle, though it had good Ramparts: That the Loss of the Castle, however, might not be followed by that of they City, the defigned, in case of Necessity, to retire to certain Intrenchments, which they had made in a Place that was near, where they had erected a Battery that was in readiness to play against the inward Face of the Castle, in hopes to open it in such a Manner that the Enemy should find it impossible to maintain themselves in it. But the Troops of the Garrison had a great Superiority in point of Goodness; for in the Venetian Army were no Foot besides Italians, who commonly receiving their Payonce in forty Days

Days, continued in their Service, more be- A. D. cause they found but very slender Subsist- 1510. ence elsewhere, than for any other Reafon. Hence the Italian Infantry, not being trained to the strict Discipline of the Ultramontanes, nor qualified for standing their Ground in the Field, are now almost constantly rejected by those who can serve themselves with foreign Foot, especially Swifs, Germans, or Spaniards. The Defence therefore being managed with greater Refolution than the Attack, about Eighteen Hundred Foot, with some French Horse, made a Sally one Night to make an Attempt on the Artillery. They eafily difperfed and put to Flight the Foot that guarded it, nailed up two Pieces, and were labouring to bring them into the Place, when the whole Camp being alarmed, Zitolo da Perugia with a strong Party of Foot hasted to their Rescue, where, valiantly fighting, he ended his Life with much Glory. But Dionigi di Naldo coming up with the greater Part of the Army, the Germans were obliged to abandon the Artillery, having acquired no small Honour, by first routing the Foot that guarded the VOL. V. Cannon,

A. D Cannon, then killing Part of those who first came to its Rescue, and among others Zitolo, an Officer of Foot in high Reputation, and at last making their Retreat with very inconfiderable Loss. In short, the Venetian Generals being discouraged by this last Action, finding that the People of the City made no Stir, and judging that it was not only vain but dangerous to continue the Siege, as they were not very fecure in their Quarters, their Foot being posted on a Hill, and the Horse in a Valley at a good Distance from them, they refolved to retire to their old Quarters at San Martino. And this Resolution was haftened by the Information they had received that Chaumont finding himself at liberty by the Departure of the Swifs, and understanding the Danger of Verona, was on his March to relieve it. As they were breaking up their Camp, the Foragers of Verona, with a great Escort, entered the Valley of Polliente under the Mountain of San Felice; but the Venetian light Horse hastening in great Numbers to the Assistance of their Foot, and feizing the Passes of the Valley, all those who came out of Verona

Verona were killed or made Prisoners. A D. From San Martino the Venetian Army, on Advice of the Coming of Chaumont, retired to San Bonifacio; about which Time the Troops that were left in Garrifon at Trevigi had the Town of Affilio, near the River Musone, in which were Eight Hundred Germans, furrendered to them upon Articles, and afterwards the Castle. In Friuli the War was prosecuted with the same Vicissitude of Fortune, and the usual Barbarities, there being no longer any fighting with Enemies in the open Field, but the Parties on all Sides making it their Business utterly to ruin and destroy the Houses, and lay waste the Country; and the Province of Istria was afflicted with the same dismal Calamities.

ABOUT this Time the Marquis of Mantoua was delivered out of Prison, and his Liberty was obtained in a very remarkable Manner. It had been sollicited by the Pope, who had before a Kindness for the Marquis, and designed to employ him in his Service, and to make Use of

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A. D. his State, which lay very commodious for carrying on a War against the King of France; and it was univerfally believed in Italy, that his Deliverance was effected by means of the Pope. I have however been informed by a very creditable Person, who was at that Time entrusted with the whole Administration of the State of Mantoua, that his Freedom was owing to a very different Motive. For it being suspected, and with good Reason, that the Venetians, either out of a Hatred which they had conceived against him, or Apprehensions from his Liberty, were inclined to keep him in perpetual Confinement; and feveral Methods having been tried in vain for his Release, it was resolved at last, in the Council of Mantoua, to have recourse to Bajazet the Turkish Emperor, whose Friendship the Marquis had for many Years cultivated by frequent Messages and various Presents. Bajazet, being informed of his Misfortune, sent for the Bailo* of the Venetian Merchants who trafficked

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^{*} This Officer we now call the Conful, and he has the Charge of Affairs relating to the Merchants of his own Nation in that Port where he resides.

at Pera*, and required of him a Promise A. D. that the Marquis should be set at liberty. The Bailo refusing to promise what was not in his Power to perform, and offering to write to Venice about it, where he did not doubt but they would come to a Resolution conformable to his Desire, the Sultan replied in a haughty Tone, and told him that it was his Will that he should make an absolute Promise. On which he was necessitated to comply, and gave advice of it to the Venetian Senate, who confidering that it was no fit Time to provoke so potent a Prince, determined to release the Marquis. But to hide the Difgrace, and to reap some Benefit from his Deliverance, they hearkened to the Request of the Pope, by which Means it was concluded, tho' fecretly, that to fecure the Venetians from being at any time molested by the Marquis, he should deliver his eldest Son into the Custody of the Pope, as a Hostage for his good Behaviour. The Marquis was conducted to Bologna, where, after he had configned his Son into the Hands of the Pope's Agents,

^{*} A Suburb of Constantinople, where the Franks reside.

A. D. Agents, finding himself at liberty, he set out for Mantoua, excusing himself to Cæsar and the King of France by alledging that, on account of restoring good Order in his State, he was hindered from going to serve in their Armies, as a Feudatory of one, and in the Pay of the other, for the King had preserved him in his Post and Perquisites; but his real Design was to stand neuter.

THE ill Success of the Attempts which had been hitherto made, did not in any measure diminish the Hopes of the Pontiff, who promifing himfelf more than ever a Revolution in the State of Genoa, resolved to make a fresh Attempt upon it. The Venetians therefore, who rather followed by Necessity than approved these impetuous-Movements, increased their Fleet which lay at Civita Vecchia with four large Ships; and the Pope flattering himself that his Name would the more eafily induce the Genoese to rebel, added his only Galeass with some other Vessels to the Fleet, and publicly bleffed, with the pontifical Solemnities, his own Flag. Every

Every one was furprised that his Holiness, A. D. now his Defigns were discovered, and there were abundance of Soldiers in Genoa, besides a potent Fleet in the Harbour, could entertain Hopes of Success after he had fo lately miscarried when there were no Ships fit for Service in the Port, but a very fmall Garrison in the Town, and there was no Suspicion of an Attack from him. Aboard the Fleet were the fame Exiles as before, with the Bishop of Genoa, Son of Obietto dal Fiesco, and they were to join some Land Forces. For Federigo, Archbishop of Salerno, Brother of Ottaviano Fregoso, was listing both Horse and Foot in the Towns of the Lunegiana with the Pope's Money. And Giovanni da Saffatello, and Rinieri della Saffeta, the Pope's Officers, had Orders to quarter with their Regiments at Bagno della Poretta, to be ready when occasion offered to approach Genoa.

But in that City powerful Preparations had been made both by Sea and Land; and therefore on Advice of the Approach of the Enemy's Fleet, which F 4 con-

A. D. confisted of Fifteen light Galleys, three large Galleys, one Galeafs, and three Biscayan Ships, the French Squadron, confisting of twenty-two light Galleys, got out of the Port of Genoa, and put in at Porto Venere, their Safety depending on the Difference of the Vessels, for they were inferior to their Enemies united in one Body, but superior, or at least equal in Force with respect to Galleys, and could by their Lightness at any time difengage themselves from the Enemy, and get out of the Reach of their large and heavy Ships of War. The two Fleets came within Cannon-shot of one another off Porto Venere, and, after cannonading a while, the Pope's Navy proceeded to Sestri in the Eastern Riviera, whence it presented itself before the Port of Genoa, which Giovanni Fregoso entered in a Brigantine. But the Town was fo well guarded, that not a fingle Person of his Faction durst stir; and the Fleet being exposed to a brisk Fire of the Artillery miscarries. from the Tower of Codifa, it was thought necessary to remove, and return to Porto Venere, which they cannonaded for feveral

The Expedition

veral Hours but with no Effect, so that A. D. they gave up all Thoughts of profecuting, the Enterprise, and returned to Civita Vecchia, whence the Venetian Fleet, by Consent of the Pope, set Sail for their own Sea*, but met with a violent Storm in the Faro of Messina, in which five of their Galleys were cast away, and the rest driven towards the Coast of Barbary, whence at last, in a shattered Condition, they got into their own Ports. The Land Forces did not affift in the Expedition, as it was defigned; for the Troops which were levied in the Lunegiana judging, by the Report of the Preparations made by the French, that the Entrance into the Eastern Riviera would be too hazardous, made no Motion; and those that were at Bagno della Poretta excused themselves by alledging that the Florentines had denied them a Passage, and did not advance forwards, but entered upon the Mountain of Modena, which was in Subjection to the Duke of Ferrara, and attacked the Town of Fanano, but without Success; yet at last the Place, together

^{*} The Adriatic Sea, or Gulf of Venice, in which the Venetians claim a Sort of Property.

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90 A. D. ther with the whole Mountain, despairing of Succours from the Duke of Ferrara, fubmitted to them.

> Thus had the Pope hitherto miscarried in all his Enterprises against the King of France: for there happened no Revolution in the Affairs of Genoa, as he had confidently affured himself; nor had the Venetians, after their unsuccessful Attempt on Verona, any Hopes of making farther Progress on that Side; the Swifs, after making a Show rather than Use of their Arms. were gone off; and Ferrara, by the ready Succours of the French, and the coming on of the Winter Season, was judged to be out of Danger. In short, he had succeeded in nothing but in the stollen Acquisition of Modena, which was but a poor Recompense for such mighty Labours and Expences. And yet the Pontiff, though he found himself so grosly deceived by his flattering Hopes, feemed however, in his Deportment, to refemble what the fabulous Writers have recorded of Antaus, who as often as he was disabled by the Force of Hercules, on touching the Ground, recovered still greater Strength and Vigour, The

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The same Effect had Adversity upon the A D. Pope; for when he feemed to be most de-, 1510. pressed, and most dejected, he recovered his Spirits, and rose again with greater Firmness and Constancy of Mind, and with more pertinacious Resolution, promifing himself from Futurity greater Matters than ever, yet having in a manner no other Resources than in himself, with a firm Confidence, as he faid in public, that fince he was not induced to any of his Undertakings by Motives of private Interest, but purely and solely to restore the Liberty of Italy, he should, by God's Asfistance, see his Labour brought to a prosperous End. And indeed he had no manner of Reason to have any other Trust, being destitute of valorous and faithful Troops, and had no certain Friends but the Venetians, who were under a Necesfity to run the same Fortune with himself, and of whom, as they were exhausted of Money, and fufficiently oppressed with Difficulties and Straits, he could have no great Expectations. The Catholic King chose rather to give him good Counsel in private than open Affistance, and slily at the

A. D. the same time kept a Correspondence with Maximilian and the King of France, and what Promises he made to his Holiness were clogged with many Conditions and Delays. The Care and Pains he had taken with Cæsar, to separate him from the Friendship of the King of France, and to induce him to an Agreement with the Venetians, appeared more and more ineffectual. For when the Army of the Pontiff put itself in Motion against the Duke of Ferrara, Cæsar sent thither a Herald, to protest against molesting that Prince; and when Constantino of Macedonia waited on Maximilian with a Commission from the Pontiff to treat of a Peace between him and the Venetians, he refused him an Audience; and to shew that he intended to enter into stricter Bonds of Friendship with the King of France, he ordered the Bishop of Goritz to be sent to concert with his Most Christian Majesty the Plan of their future Operations. The Electors of the Empire, though well affected to the Papal Authority, and constant in their Devotion to the Apostolic See, would be at no Charges, and having all their Thoughts employed

employed on the Affairs of Germany, could do him but little Service in his Undertakings. And it did not appear that much more could be expected from the King of England, though young and ambitious of Innovations, and a Prince that professed to be a Lover of the Prosperity and Grandeur of the Church, and had heard the Ambassadors from his Holiness not without some Inclination to grant their Requests. For his Dominions were separated from Italy by too great an Extent of Land and Sea, and he could not of himfelf distress the Power of the King of France. Besides, he had ratified the Peace made between them, and by a folemn Embaffy, fent for that Purpose, received that King's Ratification. It is most certain that any other Prince who had fuch weak Foundations to support his Undertakings, and fo many Obstacles to surmount, would have given over his Pursuit, especially if it be confidered that the Pope might have made his Peace with the King of France upon his own Terms, and fuch that, if he had been Conqueror, he could hardly have demanded more advantageous Conditions. For the King

A. D. King consented to abandon the Protection of the Duke of Ferrara, if not directly, because his Honour was concerned, yet indirectly by referring his Cause to a Tryal, which would fall into the Hands of such Judges as would be sure to pronounce Sentence as the Pope should dictate. But when the Pontiss was assured of receiving Satisfaction on this Point, he surther demanded the Restoration of Genoa to its Liberty, and was so obstinately bent on this his favourite Project that none of his intimate street or what is more, when the Florentine Amanda resort what is more, when the Florentine Amanda resort was so when the Florentine Amanda resort what is more, when the Florentine Amanda resort was so when the Florentine Amanda

Inflexible and refolute Temper of the Pope.

deavoured to fosten him, he was strangely discomposed, and shewed manifest Tokens of his Displeasure. And when a Gentleman from the Duke of Savoy addressed him with Offers from his Master to interpose his Mediation for negotiating a Treaty of Peace whenever he pleased, he burned with Indignation to such a Degree, that crying out, "This Fellow was fent hither for a Spy, and not as a Negotiator," he ordered him to be immediately clapt into Prison, and examined on the Rack. In

fhort,

95 1510.

short, he became every Day more fierce A. D. and resolute under Difficulties, and scorning all Dangers and Obstacles, he determined to use his utmost Efforts for taking Ferrara. Laying afide then for the prefent all other Projects he resolved to go in Person to Bologna, in order to hasten the Preparations by his Presence, to give Authority to the Undertaking, and to animate his Officers, whose Ardor did not answer his own Eagerness and Impetuosity. His own Forces, he faid, were fufficient for the Conquest of Ferrara, in Conjunction with those of the Venetians, who being apprehensive that the Pontiff might at last, in despair of Success, come to an Agreement with the King of France, pushed him forwards on the same Measures.

On the other hand the King of France King of being satisfied, by so many Experiments, France of the Pope's Animosity against him, and against knowing that it was necessary to provide the Pope. for the Security of the State against new Enterprises, resolved to defend the Duke of Ferrara, to strengthen as much as posfible his Alliance with Cæfar, and, with his

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his Approbation, to perfecute the Pope with spiritual Arms; to stand upon the Defensive till Spring, and then to pass into Italy in Person at the Head of a very powerful Army, in order to act against the Venetians, or against the Pope, according as the State of Affairs should require. He proposed therefore to Casar not only to put himself in Motion for passing the Alps against the Venetians, but also to lend him his Affiftance for gratifying what he knew to be his Defire of old, in feizing on Rome and the whole Ecclefiastic State, as rightfully belonging to the Empire, as also on all the rest of Italy, except the Dutchy of Milan, Genva, the Dominions of the Florentines and of the Duke of Ferrara*. Cafar was eafily induced to enter into the King's Measures, and particularly, by virtue of the King's Authority, and by that of the German and French Nations, to convoke a General Council, not without Hopes of the Concurrence of the Spanish Nation, and

^{*} All Italy, except the City of Venice, and some Part of the Kingdom of Naples, which was retained by the Greek Emperors, was, for above Five Hundred Years in Subjection to the Western Empire; till the Pope and other Princes by Degrees encroached on its Rights, and stripped it of its Appurtenances. La Nave.

of the Spanish Nation, and of the King of A. D. Aragon, who would hardly presume to 1510. contradict the Will of two fuch mighty Princes. And they had another very confiderable Foundation for their Proceedings in this Affair; for many of the Italian and Ultramontane Cardinals, of a restless and ambitious Spirit, engaged to take the Caufe into their own Hands, and openly to profess themselves the Authors. To settle these Matters the King waited with Impatience for the Arrival of the Bishop of Goritz, with a Commission from Casar for that Purpose; and in the meam time, for giving a Beginning to the Institution of a Council, and to exempt at present his Kingdom from Obedience to the Pope, he called a Convocation of all the Prelates of France to meet at the City of Orleans about the Middle of next September. Such were the Refolutions and Preparations of the King of France, which, however, were not wholly approved by his Court and Council, who, confidering the ill Confequence that might happen from giving Time to his Enemy, were against deferring the Operations of War to another VOL. V. Seafon.

Season. And if he had been so happy as to A. D. 1510. follow their Advice, he would immediately have thrown the Affairs of the Pope into fuch Disorder, and embarrassed him to that Degree, that he could not have found it so easy as he did afterwards to excite so many Princes against him. But the King perfifted in his Sentiments, either fwayed by Avarice, or restrained by the Fear of incurring the Resentment of other Princes, if he should go to War with the Pope singly by himself, or perhaps he had an Abhorrence to fuch a Step as contrary to his Title of Most Christian, and to his Profesfion of being Defender of the Church, as his Predecessors in antient Times had always approved themselves*.

Pope invades the at the End of September, with a full Resolution to attack Ferrara with all his Forces
and those of the Venetians both by Land
and Water. The Venetians therefore, at

^{*} It has been a general Opinion that as often as the Kings of France came into Italy for the Sake of defending the Church, they always returned victorious; but whenever they attempted to deprive it of any of its Dominion or Privileges, hey came off with Difgrace and Loss. Ariofte.

his Sollicitation, manned out two Fleets, A of which one entering the Po by the Fornaci, and the other by Porto di Primaro, committed very great Ravages in the Ferrarefe, while at the fame time the Ecclefiaftic Troops over-ran and plundered the whole Country. They did not, however, present themselves before Ferrara, for in that City, besides the Duke's Forces, were Two Hundred and Fifty French Lances; and the Ecclefiastic Army, though paid according to the Lift of Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, besides consisting for the most part of Men picked up at Random (as the Popes are commonly ill ferved in Wars) came far short of that Number. To this it might be added that Chaumont, after the Loss of Modena, having ordered Two Hundred and Fifty Lances and Two Thousand Foot to post themselves between Reggio and Rubiera, the Pope sent a Detachment of Two Hundred Men at Arms and Three Hundred Foot, under Marc' Antonio Colonna and Giovanni Vitelli, to reinforce the Garrison of Modena. His Holiness therefore was obliged to follicit G 2 the

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A. D. the Venetians to fend into the Ferrarese a Part of their Army, which had reduced almost the whole Province of Friuli, the Forces of Cæfar at Verona, and every where else, being much diminished. The Ecclefiastic Troops had again taken Posfession of the Polesine of Rovigo, which was abandoned by the Duke, out of Care and Sollicitude to preferve his Capital. The Pope waited for Three Hundred Spanish Lances, which he had demanded of the King of Aragon on the Obligation of the Investiture, which were on their March under the Command of Fabritio Colonna. He defigned, when these Forces had joined his Army, to attack Ferrara on one Side, while the Venetians did the same on another, persuading himself that the People, as foon as they faw his Army approach the Walls, would take up Arms against the Duke, though his Generals affured him that the Garrison was strong enough to defend the City with Ease against the Enemy, and to controul the People if they should have an Inclination to be tumultuous. He applied himself then with incredible Sollicitude to increase his Army by making

new Levies in many Places. But the Ve- A. D. netian Reinforcements were longer on the 1510. March than the Pope wished; for when they had got together a Number of Boats on the Po in the Mantouan for laying a Bridge, the Duke of Ferrara with the French Troops fuddenly attacked and carried them off. Besides this a Multitude of Boats, and other fmall Craft, together with the Venetian Proveditor, were taken on a Canal in the Polefine; and a Plot was discovered which the Venetians had fet on Foot in Brescia for causing that City to revolt from Plot discothe King of France, for which Count Gio-vered in vanni Maria da Martinengo was beheaded. Brescia.

But much more dilatory were the Spanish Lances in their Motions than the Venetians; for these Troops, having advanced as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of Naples, refused, in Pursuance of their King's Orders, to pass the River Tronto till the Bull of the Investiture already expedited was delivered into the Hands of his Ambassador. But the Pontiff suspecting that after the Bull was received the G 3 Troops.

Troops that had been promifed would A. D. never come to his Assistance, made a Dif-

ficulty of delivering it before they were arrived at Bologna. The Pope, however, could not be induced by these Difficulties, nor by the Remonstrances of his Officers, to diminish his Hopes of conquering Ferrara with his own Troops alone; and therefore he attended with wonderful Vigour to all the Operations of the War, tho' at that Time he was feized with a troublefome Diforder, under which he managed himself contrary to the Advice of his Phyficians, which he despised as much as that of his Generals, promiting himfelf the Victory over his Distemper as well as over his Enemies; because it was the Will of God, he faid, that he should be the Author of the Restoration of Italy to its Liberty. It was by his Procurement also that the Marquis of Mantoua, whom he invited to Bologna, and honoured with the Title of Gonfalonier of the Church, entered into the Service of the Venetians, with the Title of Captain General, the Pope himself participating of his Conduct by giving him the Command of an Hun-

dred

THE WARS IN ITALY. dred Men at Arms, and Twelve Hundred A. D. Foot. But it was agreed that these Trans-, 1510. actions should be kept secret, because the Marquis defired it, under Pretence that it was necessary for him to re-establish his Country in good Order, and to make Marquis proper Provisions for its Defence against of Manthe Infults of the French. But the Truth voured by was, he submitted to take so weighty athe Pope. Charge upon him not voluntarily, but necessitated by the Promises which he had made, and therefore endeavoured to delay as much as possible his entering on the Execution of his Office, in hopes that an Opportunity might offer which would enable him to free himself from his Obligation,

But now the Ardour of the Pope for infesting the Dominions of others was converted into a Necessity of defending his own, which would have suffered much sooner, and a greater Shock, had not some unexpected Accidents constrained Chaumont to defer the Execution of his Resolutions. For after the Venetian Army had decamped from the Neighbourhood G 4

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of Verona, Chaumont, who was arrived at Peschiera, in his March to the Relief of that City, took a Resolution to turn with his Army, and make a fudden Attempt for the Recovery of Modena. His Troops that were posted at Rubiera had already taken the Town of Formigine by Storm, and it was believed that he would easily have made himself Master of the City of Modena, for the Garrison was but weak, the Place not fortified, nor were all the Inhabitants well affected to the Dominion of the Church. But it happened that, just as he was on the Point of Moving, he had notice that the German Foot in Garrison at Verona had made a Mutiny for the Retardation of their Pay, and, lest that City should be abandoned, was forced to suspend his March till he had composed the Tumults, which he effected at last by distributing Nine Thoufand Ducats to the Soldiers in present Pay, and promifing them the like Sum to be paid some time in the next Month. before this Diforder was remedied, another fad Accident intervened; for, after the Venetians had retired towards Padona, La

La Grotta, the Governor of Lignago, A. D. imagining that he had a fair Opportunity, of plundering the Town of Montagnana, fent thither all his Lances and Five Hundred Foot; and while the Inhabitants defended themselves to save their Effects, arrived a Multitude of the Venetian light Horse, who finding the French in Disorder, eafily routed them with very confiderable Loss, for they had taken Care to break down a Bridge which prevented their Flight. And it is not doubted but that if the Venetians had immediately marched to Lignago, which was then in a manner destitute of Troops, they would have taken it *. But that Opportunity was foon loft, for Chaumont, receiving Intelligence of the Misfortune, fent thither with utmost Expedition a strong Reinforcement. But these Impediments deprived him of the Opportunity of recovering Modena, into which by this time had

^{*} Buonacorsi says, that of the French escaped only one Page; and that the Venetians took the Colours of the Dead, and marched under them to Lignago, but were unhappily discovered, and sailed of taking the Place. This Stratagem is much celebrated by the Venetian Historians.

A. D. had entered a plentiful Supply of Troops, and the Fortifications were diligently repaired; on his Arrival however at Rubiera the Pontiff was obliged to fend to Modena the Army defigned to attack Ferrara, The Ecclefiaftic Forces being now all affembled in the Modenese under the Command of the Duke of Urbino Generalissimo, and the Cardinal of Pavia, the Pope's Legate, having under them Gian Pagolo Baglione, Marc' Antonio Colonna, Giovanni Vitelli, Commanders of great Reputation, the Pope was very eager for engaging with the Enemy; but found the Generals utterly averse to hazarding a Battle, because the French Army was undoubtedly superior both in Number and Goodness of Troops. For the Ecclesiastic, Infantry was composed of Men levied in Haste, and there was neither that proper Obedience to Orders, nor that Discipline required in an Army; and besides there was an open Misunderstanding between the Duke of Urbino and the Cardinal of Pavia, which proceeded to fuch a Height that the Duke charged the other with High Treason, and either by his own Authority,

Authority, or by the Pope's Orders, conducted him as a Prisoner to Bologna; but
the Cardinal pleaded his Cause so well before His Holiness, that he cleared himself of
all Aspersions, and obtained a greater Degree of Considence and Authority with
him than ever.

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WHILE the two Armies lay thus in a manner fronting each other, Chaumont taking up his Quarters with his Horse at Exploits Rubiera, his Foot quartering in Marzaglia; of the Duke of and the Eccle fiaftic Forces disposing of them-Ferrard. felves at Modena, in the Suburb that looks toward Rubiera, and Parties making frequent Excursions and skirmishing together, the Duke of Ferrara first recovered the Polesine of Rovigo without Resistance, and then joining Chatillon and the French Lances eafily retook Finale; after which he entered the Town of Cento through the Castle, which held out for him, and pillaged and burnt it. He then prepared to join Chaumont, which the Troops of the Church apprehending, they retired within the Walls of Modena, after posting Part of their Foot in the Suburb that faces the Mountain. the

A. D. the Duke had hardly put himself in Motion when he was obliged to stop, and look to the Defence of his own Territory: For the Venetians to the Number of Three Hundred Men at Arms, a good Body of light Horse, and Four Thousand Foot, were come with a Defign to fecure a Pass over the Po, and afterwards to join the Pope's Troops encamped before Fichuerolo. This is a small and weak Castle on the Po, but much celebrated in the Wars between the Venetians and Ercole Duke of Ferrara, for its long Siege by Roberto da Severino, and its Defence by Federigo Duke of Urbino, two very famous Generals of that Age. The Venetians now had it furrendered upon Articles, after they had battered it for some time; and then took the Town of Stellata on the opposite Bank. Having thus the Command of the Po, there wanted nothing to pass it but the laying of a Bridge. But Alfonso, who after the Loss of Stellata was retired with his Forces to Bondino, fruftrated that Attempt by planting his Artillery on a Point of Land from whence he had the full Command of Stellata, and besides scoured the Po with two Galleys. The

The Duke, however, was foon obliged to A. D. withdraw his Shipping, for the Venetian 1510. Fleet, which at first had been prevented from entering the Po, because the Mouths of that River were guarded by the Duke's Forces, found Means to get into it by making their Way up the Adice against the Stream; fo that the Territory of Ferrara became fadly infested between the Venetian Fleets. But that Trouble did not continue long; for the Duke fet out from Ferrara, and attacked the Fleet which, after entering by Primaro, was come up to Adria, and confifted of two Galleys, two Fusts *, and a Multitude of smaller Craft: he routed them without much Difficulty, and then betook himself to affault the other Fleet, which being composed only of Shallops and smaller Craft had entered the Po by the Fornaci, and was arrived at Pulifella. This Fleet durst not stand an Engagement, and endeavouring to retire into the Adice, through a Water that was near them, were prevented by its Shallowness; so that being attacked, and battered by the Enemy's Cannon, the Troops

^{*} A Sort of light Galley.

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A. D. Troops on board, being incapable of making any Defence, abandoning their Vessels attended to fave themselves and their Artillery.

In the Midst of this Bustle and Din of Pope exthe temporal Arms, the Thunder of the commu-Dicates the spiritual Artillery began to rattle from all Duke of Parts. The Pope in public pronounced Sentence of Excommunication against Alfonso d' Este, and all those who had taken, or should take Arms in his Defence, Chaumont by Name, with all the principal Officers of the French Army*. On the other Hand the Affembly of the French Prelates transferred themselves from Orleans to Tours, where, rather because they would not oppose the Will of the King, who fre-French quently affifted at their Meetings, than Clergy from their own Inclination and Sentiments, draw up Articles they confented to feveral Articles drawn up against the against the Pope, only with this Proviso, Pope. that before they withdrew their Obedience

* Before the Pope excommunicated Alfonso, the Duke excusing himself by representing that he could not renounce his Alliance with France, the Pontiss in a Passion answered, "I will cure him of this inveterate Distemper, and treat him against his Will with proper salutiferous Medicines."

from

III

from him Ambassadors should be deputed A. D. to him to ratify the Articles which had passed in the Convocation of the French Clergy, and to admonish him to be observant of them for the future, and, in case he should afterwards act in Contravention to them, to cite him before a General Council, for which they would make Instances with other Princes, in order to obtain the Concurrence of all the Christian Nations. The Affembly also empowered the King to raise a large Sum of Money out of the Revenues of the Clergy of France. And not long after, in another Session held on the 27th of September, they gave public Notice of a Council to be held at Lyons in the Begin-General ning of March nexr ensuing. On the same Council Day arrived at Tours the Bishop of Goritz, proclaimwho was received with fuch uncommon France. and excessive Honours, as plainly shewed with what Impatience his Coming had been defired and expected.

A DIVISION of the Cardinals against the Cardinals Pope now began to shew itself: For the Car-fall off from the dinals of Santa Croce and Cosenza, Spaniards; Pope.

Bayeux and St. Malo, French; and Fede-

rigo

A. D. rigo Cardinal of San Severino, when the Pope fet out for Bologna through Romagna, visiting by the Way the Chapel of St. Mary of Loreto, much celebrated for an Infinity of Miracles, did not accompany him, but, with his Leave, took their Journey through Tuscany. When they came to Florence they obtained a Protection of that Senate, not for any limited Time, but till the Government should think fit to revoke it, and fifteen Days after fuch Revocation should be intimated; and here they delayed, on various Pretences, to proceed any further. The Pontiff growing jealous of their Stay, after repeated Instances for their coming to Bologna, wrote a Brief to the Cardinals of St. Malo, Bayeux, and San Severino, enjoining them, under Pain of his Indignation, to refort to Court. But he proceeded more gently with the Cardinal of Cosenza, and with the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who was a Person of great Note for his Birth, Learning, and for the Legations he had exercifed by Commission for the Apostolic See, and only exhorted them by a Brief to favour him with their Presence at Bologna. Not one however of thefe

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these Prelates were disposed to obey him; A. D. but after they had in vain sollicited the Florentines to grant their Protection for a long and definite Space of Time, and not only to them but to all the Cardinals that should chuse to come thither, they quitted Florence, and took their Way through the Lunegiana to Milan.

In the mean time Chaumont, intent on Motion recovering Carpi, which had been feized and Defigns of by the Troops of the Church, ordered Chaumont: thither Alberto Pio, and Palisse with Four Hundred Lances, and Four Thousand Foot. Alberto advancing before the rest with a Trumpet and a few Horse, the People of the Town, by whom he was greatly beloved, receiving Advice of his Coming, began to be tumultuous. On this the Ecclefiaftic Troops in Garrison, to the Number of Forty light Horse and Five Hundred Foot, out of Fear abandoned the Place, and directed their March to Modena; but being purfued by the French, who arrived foon after, they were overtaken at Prato del Cortile, about half way between Carpi and Modena, and dispersed; the Vol. V.

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A. D. the Horse saved themselves, but most of the Foot were loft. Chaumont thought it most for his Advantage to engage in Battle before the Enemy was joined by the Spanish Lances, whose March the Pope endeavoured to quicken by depositing the Bull of Investiture in the Hands of the Cardinal of Regino, and by the Venetians, who, having thrown up some Works to cover themselves from Alfonso's Artillery, were in hopes of foon laying a Bridge. With this View he approached Modena: But, after some skirmishing between the light Horse on both Sides, the Ecclesiastics, as being conscious of their Inferiority, declining to draw out all their Forces, he loft all Hopes of coming to a general Engagement, and refolved to put in Execution what many, and especially the Bentivogli, by various Offers, had pressed him to undertake. They advised him not to waste his Time unprofitably about Enterprifes of small Concern, which had more of Difficulty than Advantage, but to make a fudden Attack on the Seat of the War, and the principal Spring from whence proceeded fo many Troubles and Dangers. Now

II5 Now, they faid, he had a fair Oppor- A. D. tunity, fince there were but few foreign Troops in Bologna, many of the People Favourers of the Bentivogli, and the greater Part of the rest much rather inclined to wait the Issue of Affairs, than by taking up Arms to expose themfelves to Dangers, and create new Enemies. If he should let slip the present Occasion, it would be in vain to make an Attempt hereafter: For upon the Arrival of the Troops which were expected, either Venetians or Spaniards, he must never think of effecting, with a very potent Army, what was now in his Power eafily to accomplish with a much smaller Force.

THE French General therefore affembling all his Forces, and the Bentivogli Chaument advances following him with some Horse and One towards Thousand Foot in their own Pay, took Bologna. the Way between the Mountain and the high Road, and attacked the Castle of Spilimberto belonging to the Counts Rangoni, in which were Four Hundred Men of the Pope's Troops, who furrendered H 2 On

A. D. 1510.

ion Articles the fame Day, after fustaining a short Battery. Castel Franco surrendered the next Day, and he then took up his Quarters at Crespolano, Ten Miles distant from Bologna, with an Intention to prefent himself the Day following before the Gates of that City. As foon as the News was spread in Bologna that Chaumont was coming, and that the Bentivogli were with him, the whole City was in an Uproar, and all things were in Confusion as well among the Nobility as the common People, one Party dreading, and the other defiring the Return of the Bentivogli. But greater was the Disorder, and much greater the Consternation among the Prelates and Courtiers, who were not accustomed to the Dangers of War, but to the Idleness and Delicacies of Rome. The Cardinals, full of Sadness and Concern, flocked to the Pope, complaining that he had brought himself, the Apostolic See, and themselves into great and imminent Perils, and fatiguing him with preffing Instances that he would either make sufficient Provision for his Defence, which they thought impracticable in fo short a

Time,

Consternation in that City.

Time, or that he would endeavour to A D. compound Matters, on tolerable Conditions, with the Enemy, who were supposed not averse to an Agreement, or else that together with his Court he would quit Bologna; exhorting him, if he himfelf was not moved by a Sense of his own Danger, to confider at least how deeply it would affect the Honour of the Apostolic See, and of the Christian Religion in general, if any Misfortune should befal his Person. All his most intimate Friends, and those whom he most respected among his Ministers and Servants joined in their Supplications to the same Purpose. But he himself alone, amidst so great and universal a Confusion and Disorder, uncertain of the Affections of the People, and diffatisfied at the Slowness of the Venetians, pertinaciously struggled against his manifold Troubles, nor could the Diftemper which shook his bodily Frame give the least Bent to his Fortitude of Mind. He had, at the first Notice of the Danger, recalled Marc' Antonio Colonna, with Part of the Troops that were at Modena; and sending for Girolamo Donato, H 3

A. D. Donato, the Venetian Ambassador, he made bitter Exclamations and Complaints against the Slowness of his Masters in sending him the Succours so often promised him, by which Means his State and his Person were brought into such great and imminent Danger; charging them not only with abominable Ingratitude towards himself, who had entered into the War principally for their Safety, and at a vast Expence and Hazard, and, by drawing upon himself the Enmity of the Empire and the King of France, had been the Cause that their Liberties were preserved to this Day, but also with the highest Imprudence in regard to themselves; for if he should be conquered, or constrained to fubmit to some Composition, what Hope could remain of their own Safety, and what would become of their Republic? At last he protested, with the most solemn Affeverations, that he would strike up a Peace with the French, if their Troops, which were at Stellata, having, on account of the Difficulty of laying a Bridge, passed the River in Boats and on Planks, did not enter Bologna to his Affiftance

ance the next Day. He summoned toge- A. D. ther also the Magistracy and Colleges of 1510. Bologna, and in a grave and ferious Manner putting them in Mind of the past Evils they had fuffered under a Tyranny, and of the Mischiess that attended the Return of exiled Tyrants breathing nothing but Cruelty and Revenge, he exhorted them to preferve themselves under the Dominion of the Church, which they had experienced fo mild and favourable. And to make them the more ready to comply with his Defire, befides former Exemptions, he now took off half the Duties on Things necessary for Life that were brought into the City, and promised them yet greater Concessions. All this he notified by the common Cryer, inviting the People at the fame time to take up Arms for the Defence of the Ecclefiastic State; but without any Effect, for not a fingle Person stirred, or gave the least Sign of being disposed to act in his Favour. Becoming therefore fensible at last of the great Danger into which he was fallen, he fuffered himself to be overcome by the Importunities and Lamentations of the Mul-H 4

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descends

to treat with

Multitude of those about him, seconded A. D. by the repeated Instances of the Ambassadors of Cæsar, the Catholic King, and the King of England, together with the Intreaties of the Cardinals, and gave his Consent for sending to Chaumont to demand a Pass for Giovanfrancesco Pico, Count of Mirandola, to wait on him with a Commission from the Pope. And a Pope confew Hours after he himself sent one of his own Chamberlains to request of the French General that he would fend him Chaumont. Alberto da Carpi, not knowing that he was absent from the Army. At the same time, that he might fecure the most precious Ornament belonging to the Pontificate, he fent away Lorenzo Pucci, his Datary, with the Regno, or principal Mitre, which was full fet with the choicest Jewels, to be reposited in the famous Monastery of the Murate in Florence.

> CHAUMONT, from this Request of the Pope, conceived Hopes that he was inclined to come to an Agreement, which he heartily defired, because he knew it was what the King wished; and that he might

might give no Disturbance to his Holiness A. D. in his good Disposition, he continued with ________. his Army the next Day in the same Quarters. But he permitted however the Bentivogli, with a good Number of their Friends and Partifans, followed at fome Distance by Fifty French Lances, to make an Excursion up to the very Walls of Bologna; and Ermes, the youngest but most resolute of the Brothers, presented himself before the Gates, yet their Coming occasioned not the least Commotion in the City. Giovanfrancesco della Mirandola had a favourable Audience of Chaumont, who fent him back the fame Day to Bologna, to fignify the Conditions on which he was content to make Peace: As Condifirst, that the Pontiff should absolve Al-tions of fonso d' Este, together with all those who, Peace proposed on any Account whatfoever, had acted in to the his Defence, or against the Ecclesiastic Pope. State, from their Censures: That he should in like manner absolve the Bentivogli, and take off their Fines, and restore those Effects which manifestly belonged to them; as to the rest, of which they were in possession before their Exile, their

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A. D their Right should be decided at Law: That they should have Liberty to chuse their Habitation wherever they pleased, provided it were not within Eighty Miles of Bologna: That as to the Affairs of the Venetians, no Alteration should be made in the Dispositions concerning them made by the Confederacy at Cambray: That there should be a Suspension of Arms between the Pontiff and Alfonso d' Este for at least Six Months, during which Time the Differences between them should be decided by Arbitrators whom they themfelves should appoint by consent, referring to Cæfar the Cognizance of the Affair of Modena, which City should immediately be deposited in his Hand; Cotignuola was to be restored to the Most Christian King, the Cardinal of Auch fet at liberty, the absent Cardinals pardoned, and all vacant Benefices in the Dominions of the King of France should be disposed of according to the Royal Pleafure.

> THE Count returning with this Answer, not without Hopes that Chaumont would not rigorously insist on all these Articles,

the

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the Pope, contrary to his Custom, heard his Report with Patience, as well as the Intreaties of the Cardinals, who befeeched him with the utmost Earnestness to accept of a Composition on these Terms, if he could obtain no better. Julius bemoaning The Pope himself on the unreasonable Exorbitancy embarof the Conditions prescribed to him, intermixing every Sentence with bitter Complaints against the Venetians, and seeming to stand in Suspense, suffered the Day to pass without declaring his Resolution. But his Hopes were exalted when in the Evening there entered into Bologna, Chiappino Vitelli with Six Hundred Venetian light Horse, and a Regiment from Turkey hired by the Republic. These Troops left Stellata the Night before, and came all the Way on the Spur, being charged by the Venetian Governor to use the utmost Speed. The next Day Chaumont with his whole Army took Post at the Bridge of Reno, three Miles from Bologna, where he was immediately attended by the Secretaries of the Ambassadors of the Kings of the Romans, Aragon, and England, and foon after by the Ambaffadors themselves, who, with

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A. D. with Alberto Pio just arrived from Carpi, went that Day feveral Times to and from the Pope and Chaumont, but found them both much altered in their Dispositions. For the General, from the Experiment of the Day before, losing all Hopes of exciting an Infurrection in Bologna by means of the Bentivogli, and beginning to be straitened for Want of Provisions, which grew every Day scarcer, doubted of Success. And the Pope reanimated and enlivened by feeing the People at last make open Discovery of their good Disposition towards the Church, by taking up Arms the same Day; and now finding himself out of Danger, for he expected before Night, besides a farther Reinforcement of Two Hundred Venetian Stradiotti, Fabritio Colonna with Two Hundred light Horse, and Part of the Spanish Men at Arms, refuming his wonted Haughtiness, threatened to attack the Enemy as foon as he was joined by all the Spanish Troops, which were not far off. In this Confidence of Mind he gave no other Answer that Day to the Sollicitations made him, than that there were no Means for coming

Refumes Courage.

to an Agreement, unless the King of A. D. France obliged himself totally to abandon the Defence of Ferrara *. The next Day new Conditions were proposed, on which Account the same Ambassadors returned to Chaumont; but these Terms were attended with fuch a Variety of Difficulties and Encumbrances, that Chaumont, defpairing of making any Progress towards a Peace, either by his Arms or by a Treaty, retires. and finding it difficult to remain in his prefent Situation on account of the Dearness of Provisions, and the Weather by the Approach of Winter beginning to incommode him, returned the fame Day to Castel Franco, and the Day following to Rubiera, pretending that he was induced to retire by the Intreaties of the Ambassadors, and to give Time to His Holiness to consider the Terms proposed, as well as to himself

for

^{*} The Pope's Hopes and Spirits were raised to such a Height that his Fever left him, and he publicly declared the Grand Master of France and all the French excommunicated, if they prefumed from that Time forwards to affift, in any Manner, the Duke of Ferrara. Bembo.

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A. D. for knowing the Mind of the King on the Affair*.

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Reflect-

Conduct.

Many charged Chaumont on this Occasion with Imprudence in his Resolution, and Negligence in executing it. For as he had not Forces enough to undertake the ions on his Conquest of Bologna, considering that he had no more than Three Thousand Foot in his Army, it was an imprudent Step to put himself in Motion for that Purpose at the Sollicitations of Exiles, who, measuring their Hopes more by their Defires than by the just Standard of Reason, find themselves almost constantly deceived. But, fince he had determined to undertake this Enterprife, he should at least have supplied with Expedition what he wanted in Strength; whereas, on the contrary, he let flip his Opportunity by his Slowness. For, after he found himself at Leisure to move with his Forces from Pefchiera, he lost three or four Days in confidering the Weakness

^{*} Chaumont withdrew from the Territory of Bologna, not at the Intreaties, but Menaces of the English Ambassador, who protested, in a haughty manner, that if the French did not depart out of the Dominions of the Church, the Peace between France and England must be considered as violated. Mocenigo.

of his Army, and stood in Suspense whe- A. D. ther he should make an Attempt by himfelf, or wait till he was joined by the Forces of the Duke of Ferrara, and the French Lances under Chatillon. Some may perhaps defend his Conduct in this Particular: but who can excuse him for not leading his Army, after the Taking of Castel Franco, to the Gates of Bologna, without giving Time to that City to take Breath, and before any Succours had entered it, while the People were in Sufpense, and the Confusion and Terror, as it ordinarily happens in fudden Cases, increased above Meafure, which were the only Means, if there were any at all, of obtaining a Conquest, or an honourable Compofition? Yet perhaps we should often pay less Regard to the Authority of those who find Fault with the Conduct of Enterprises that have proved unfuccessful, if it were possible for us at the same time to know what would have happened from the Purfuit of different Measures.

AFTER the Retreat of Chaumont the Pope ob. Pontiff inveighed bitterly against Lewis, stinately bent on a and War.

A. D. and filled the Ears of all the Christian Princes with Complaints that the King of France, unjustly, and in Contradiction to the Truth of Facts, assuming the Name and Title of Most Christian, and holding in Contempt the Confederacy fo folemnly contracted at Cambray, prompted also by an ambitious Defire of feizing upon Italy, and a wicked Thirst after the Blood of the Roman Pontiff, had fent an Army to befiege him, with the whole College of Cardinals, and all the Prelates, in Bologna. His Holiness then returned with greater Ardor than ever to his warlike Schemes and Projects, and refusing to treat with the Ambassadors who, in Pursuance of the Negotiations begun with Chaumont, spoke to him about coming to an Agreement, he told them he would listen to no Terms till he was put in Possession of Ferrara. And though by the Fatigues which he underwent, from such a Variety of Business, both in Body and Mind, his Diforder was again exasperated, he applied himself afresh to lifting of Soldiers, and to follicit the Venetians, who had at last laid a Bridge over the Po between Ficheruolo and Stellata, to fend

send Part of their Troops, under the Mar- A. D. 1510. quis of Mantoua, to Modena to join his own Forces, and with the other Part to distress Ferrara, affuring them that in a very few Days he would make himself Master of that City, together with Reggio and Rubiera. The Venetians delayed to pass the River on account of the Danger which they were fure to incur, if, as it was feared, the Pope should happen to die. They were, however, at last constrained to submit to his Will, and leaving Part of their Forces on the farther Bank of the Po, they fent the rest, consisting of Five Hundred Men at Arms, Sixteen Hundred light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot towards Modena, but not under the Marquis of Mantoua; for he had stopped at Sermidi, and was bufy in levying Sol-Marquis of Mandiers both Horse and Foot, which he was toug sufafterwards to conduct, as he faid, to the pected. Army. By this Dilatoriness he had rendered himself suspected by the Venetians; he came however to San Felice, a Castle in the Modenese; but on receiving Advice that the French from Verona were ravaging the Mantouan, on representing the Neces-VOL. V fity

A. D 1510.

fity he was under of defending his State, he returned with the Pontiff's Permission for Mantoua, but with heavy Complaints from the Venetians. For though he had promised to come back with all Speed, they suspected him of Insidelity, and believed, as it was also the general Persuasion throughout Italy, that Chaumont, to surnish him with an Excuse for not going to the Army, had, with his Consent, ordered some French Soldiers to make an Incursion into the Mantouan: And this Suspection was increased after the Marquis had written to the Pope from Mantoua that he was detained there by Sickness.

Motions of the Pope's Troops. The Troops of the Pope, those of the Venetians, and the Spanish Lances, were now all joined together in and about Modena, and it was not doubted but that, if they had put themselves in Motion without Delay, Chaumont, who, after quitting the Bolognese, had, to save Charges, disbanded his Italian Infantry, would have also abandoned Reggio, and preserved only the Citadel. But resuming Courage from the Slowness of the Enemy, he began to make

make fresh Levies, with an Intention to A. D. attend folely to the Preservation of Sassuolo, Rubiera, Reggio and Parma. While the Pope's Army lay thus encamped about Modena, uncertain as yet whether to proceed forwards, or to turn back towards Ferrara, some Squadrons of the Church, in an Excursion towards Reggio, were put to Flight by the French with the Loss of an Hundred of their Horse, and Count Matelica was taken Prisoner. At this Time the Duke of Ferrara, and M. Chatillon with the French Forces, being encamped along the Po, between the Spedaletto and Bondino, opposite to the Venetian Troops on the other Side of that River, the Venetian Fleet, on account of the Rigour of the Season, as it was ill supplied with Necessaries from Venice, being on its Retreat was attacked by a Number of Barks from Ferrara, which with their Cannon funk eight of their Vessels, the rest with Difficulty making their Way to Castle Nuovo del Po, feated on the Ditch that discharges itself into the Tanaro and the Adice, where it is loft. The Pontiff then gave Orders that his Army, which, the Marquis

A. D. of Mantoua not having yet left his Capitals was under the Command of Fabritio Colonna, should leave a Garrison in Modena under the Duke of Urbino, and march directly for Ferrara; encouraging his Generals, who unaninously condemned this Step, with almost infallible Hopes of an Insurrection in that City. But after they had entered on their March they returned back the same Day by Order from His Holiness, without knowing what had induced him to so sudden a Change, and the first Defign being laid afide they went and laid Siege to the Town of Saffuolo, into which Chaumont had put a Garrison of Five Hundred Gascon Foot. After two Days Battery, to the great Joy of the Pontiff, who heard the Roaring of his own Cannon against Sassuolo from the same Chamber in which he had a few Days before, to his great Mortification, heard the Thunder of his Enemy's Artillery at Spilimberto, as foon as the Assault was given, the Town was taken with very little Difficulty, for the Garrison was in Confusion; and the Cannon being immediately planted against the Castle where the Soldiers were retired.

tired, it no fooner began to play than the A. D. Place furrendered without making a Ca-1510. pitulation, to the great Difgrace or Misfortune of the Governor Giovanni da Cafale, who had behaved in like manner in his Defence of the Castle of Forli against Valentino. He was a Man of very low Birth, and had rifen to fo confiderable a Command, by being, when in the Flower of his Youth, a Favourite of Lodovico Sforza. After the Taking of Saffuolo the Army proceeded and took Formigine; and the Pope then gave Orders to lay Siege to Montecchio, a strong Town of Importance, fituated between the high Road and the Mountain, on the Confines of Parma and Reggio, and in the Possession of the Duke of Ferrara, though partly in the Territory of Parma; but Fabritio Colonna refused to obey, alledging that he was prohibited by his King to molest any Place within the Imperial Jurisdiction.

Chaumont made no Provision against these Disasters, but leaving Aubigni with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thousand Gascon Foot, commanded by General Months I 3 lard,

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A. D. lard, in Reggio, shut himself up in Parma, having received fresh Orders from his King to be frugal in his Expences. For His Majesty, continuing in his Resolution to lie still till the Spring, had made no Provision for his Affairs on this Side the Mountains; whence his Interest in Italy declined, and his Enemies took Encouragement. Pontiff, impatient and diffatisfied that his Troops made no further Progress, would not admit the Excuses of his Generals. fuch as the Season of the Year and other Difficulties, but fummoning them all to Bologna, proposed the Siege of Ferrara. None approved of the Project but the Venetian Ambassadors, who came into it. either out of Fear of incurring the Difpleasure of his Holiness by contradicting him, or because their Troops might return nearer their own Borders. Every Body else condemned the Proposal, but to no Purpose, for he would allow of no farther Time for Confultation, but only to receive Orders. The Siege of Ferrara was then determined; but with this Precaution, that, to prevent the French from relieving it, an Attempt, if it did not prove very difficult,

Pope refolves on the Siege of Ferrara.

was to be first made on Mirandola. This A. D. Town with Concordia were in Subjection to the Sons of Lodovico Pio, who were under the Tutelage of their Mother Francefca, and were kept firmly devoted to the French Interest by the Influence of Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, natural Father to the Lady, by whose Means her Children had obtained of Cæsar the Investiture of these Towns. The Pope had long before taken them under his Protection, as appeared by a Brief; but he excused what he was undertaking on account of the Condition of the present Times, which constrained him not to fuffer these Places to be in the Posfession of Persons whom he suspected; and offered, if they were voluntarily yielded up to him, to restore rhem as soon as he had acquired Ferrara. It was doubted at that Time, and the Doubt grew much stronger afterwards, that the Cardinal of Pavia, who was before suspected of holding private Intelligence with the King of France, was cunningly the Author of this Counsel, with a Defign to divert, by this Enterprise upon Mirandola, the Siege of Ferrara; which City had at that Time no confiderable

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A. D. able Fortifications, nor numerous Garrison,

the French were enseebled in Body and Spirit by Fatigues, the Duke had no Power, and
the King no Will to make better Provisions.

WHILE the Pope was thus ardently intent on promoting the Operations of War, the King of France chose rather to employ himself in Negotiations than in making fresh Preparations, and was continually treating with the Bishop of Goritz on Affairs that had been some Time depending. But though they feemed to admit of no Difficulty when first brought upon the Carpet, yet they were spun out to a great Length in the Negotiation, by the Delays of Cæsar in his Answers, and because there was fome Doubt arifing from the Conduct of the King of Aragon. That Prince, befides other fuspicious Actions, had lately recalled his Troops from Verona into his Kingdom of Naples, on Pretence that a Turkish Fleet had appeared off Otranto*. Cæsar and the King of France thought it necessary therefore to assure themselves of his

^{*} The Turks actually appeared before Otranto and Taranto with a Fleet of four Galleys, five Sloops, and twelve Brigantines. Mocenigo.

his Intentions, as well with Regard to the A. D. 1510. Continuation of the League of Cambray, as to what Measures were to be taken with the Pontiff, if he perfifted in his Alliance with the Venetians, and in his Resolution of reducing the State of Ferrara under immediate Subjection to the Church. The Catholic King, after some Days, returned an Answer. to these Demands, taking Occasion at the same time to clear himself from the Complaints of Cæfar and the Answer of King of France against his Conduct. He the King of Aragon had granted, he faid, the Three Hundred to the De-Lances to the Pope, because he was mands of Confarand obliged to it by the Investiture, and only the King for the Purpose of defending the State of France, the Church, and of recovering its antient Fiefs: That he had recalled his Men at Arms from Verona, because the Time for which he had promifed them to Cæfar was expired; he should not, however, have ordered them home, if he had not taken Alarm at the Turk: That his Ambassador at Bologna had, together with other Ambassadors, interposed with Chaumont for procuring an Agreement, not to gain Time for the Pope to receive Succours, but with

A. D. an Intent to extinguish so mischievous a Flame, that threatened to spread itself through Christendom, especially as he knew with what great Reluctancy his Most Christian Majesty made War upon the Church: It had been always his Purpose to fulfil his Engagements made at Cambray, and he was willing to exert himself much farther for the future, by affifting Casar with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thousand Foot against the Venetians. It was not his Intention by any means to bind himself under new Obligations, nor restrain himself by new Articles, because he faw no urgent Occasion, and he was willing to keep himfelf free, that he might be the better enabled to carry on a War against the Infidels of Africa: He would not be accessary to increasing the Dangers and Calamities of Christendom, which stood in Want of Repose: He approved of a General Council, and of a Reformation of the Church, provided it were universal, and that the Times were not unfavourable: and that he was of this Disposition none could be a better Evidence than the King of France, with whom he had communicated

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cated his Sentiments on that Head at Sa- A. D. vona. But the Times were now very unfeafonable: for the Foundation of Councils must be Peace and Concord among Christians, fince nothing can be concluded for the Good of the Public without a hearty Concurrence of united Wills. Befides, it was by no means commendable to hold a Council at fuch a Time, and in fuch a Manner, as to make it appear that it was fet on Foot more out of Indignation and Revenge, than with Zeal for the Honour of God, or the Welfare of the Christian Republic. His Catholic Majesty besides spoke in private to the Ambassadors of Cæfar, and told them that he thought it very hard that he should be obliged to asfift their Master in the Preservation of Towns, which he might afterwards make over to the King of France for a Sum of Money; expresly mentioning Verona.

THE Intentions of the Catholic King fufficiently appearing from his Answer, the Bishop of Goritz, Plenipotentiary from Casar, on one Part, and the King of France on the other, lost no Time, but

A. D. but entered into a new Confederacy with a 1510. Clause that left Room for the Pope to accede to it within two Months, and the New Con-Kings of Aragon and Hungary within four. between The King of France obliged himself to pay Casar and to Casar a Sum of Money (which was a of France. necessary Foundation for establishing an

Agreement with that Prince) amounting to Ten Thousand Ducats, Part in Hand, Part at Times. Cæsar engaged to pass into Italy next Spring with Three Thousand Horse, and Ten Thousand Foot, against the Venetians, in which Case the King was to furnish him, at his own Expence, with Twelve Hundred Lances and Eight Thoufand Foot, and a fufficient Train of Artillery; and by Sea with two light Galleys, and four other Vessels called Bastardi: They were to act conformably to the Confederacy of Cambray, and jointly to follicit the Observation of the same by the Pope and the Catholic King. And if the Pope should make a Difficulty of doing it on account of the Affair of Ferrara, the King should be bound to rest satisfied with what should be thought reasonable. But if the Pontiff refused their Request, the Affair

141 of the Council was to be profecuted, for A. D. 1510. which Purpose Casar was to affemble the Prelates of Germany, as the King of France had affembled those of his own Kingdom, in order to proceed according to the Advice of these Assemblies *.

THE Articles of the new Convention being published, Goritz, loaded with Honours and Presents, returned to his Prince Proceedings of the And the King of France, who had lately King of entered into an Agreement with the five France. Cardinals that had the Management of the Council, that neither Party should, without the other's Consent, come to an Accommodation with the Pope, fignified, by his Speeches, his eager Defire of paffing into Italy in Person with such a Force as would for a long Time be sufficient to fecure his Possessions in that Country. To fupport, however, for the present, the declining State of his Affairs, he gave strict Orders to Chaumont not to fuffer the Duke

^{*} Mocenigo speaks of other Negotiations previous to the Council, in which it was proposed by the discontented Cardinals that Cyprus, Candia, Corfu and Venice should be given to the King of Spain: Vicenza, Trevigi, the Province of Friuli, and Padoua to Cafar; and Lucca, Siena, Florence and Mantoua to the King of France.

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of Ferrara to be ruined; on which that General fent the Duke a further Reinforcement of Eight Hundred German Foot, to be added to the Two Hundred Lances which were there before under Chatillon.

Motions of the Pope's Army.

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On the other Side, the Ecclefiastic Army, after making, though flowly, the necessary Provisions, and leaving in Modena a Garrison of an Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horse, and Twenty-five Hundred Foot, under Marc' Antonio Colonna, went and laid Siege to Concordia; the Town was taken by Storm on the same Day that the Artillery was planted against it, and the Castle afterwards capitulated; the Army then proceeded, and fat down before Mirandola. It was towards the End of December, and the Season was more severe than usual; for which Reason, and because the Town was strong, and it was not to be supposed that the French would fit still, and fuffer a Place of fuch Importance and Conveniency to be loft, the Generals more than the rest doubted whether they should be able to take it. The Pope, however, had fo confidently

143 dently affured himself of a happy Issue of A. D. the War, that when, on account of the Disagreement between the Duke of Urbino and the Cardinal of Pavia, he fent a new Legate, the Cardinal of Sinigaglia, to his Army, he charged him in public to take Care above all things that when the Army entered Ferrara, that City might, as much as possible, be preserved. On the fourth Day after the Army came before Mirandola the Batteries were in readiness, and began to play; but the Besiegers laboured under many Inconveniencies from the Season, and for Want of Provisions, which came but sparingly from the Modenese, for the French had thrown Fifty

and by breaking down all the Bridges, and seizing all the Passes, had rendered it impossible to receive any Supplies by the other Way out of the Mantouan. But this Scarcity was on a fudden in some measure relieved; for the French in Carpi, on a false Alarm that the Enemy's Army was in full March to attack them, being terrified because

Lances into Guastalla, as many into Coreggio, and Two Hundred and Fifty into Carpi;

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A. D. because they had no Artillery, precipitately abandoned the Place.

Pope diffatisfied with the Floren-

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AT the End of this Year the Pontiff fuffered some Blemish in his personal Character; it was reported that, with his Privity and Confent, by means of the Cardinal de' Medici, a Plot was carried on by Marc' Antonio Colonna, and some young Men of Florence for affaffinating Piero Soderini the Gonfalonier, by whose Influence, it was fupposed, the Florentines were confirmed in the French Interest. For the Pope had tried all the Arts of Persuasion to induce that Republic to join in his Measures, but had not fucceeded; on the contrary, was so far from it, that the Florentines had not long before, at the Request of the King of France, given Warning for breaking the Truce with the Senefe, to the great Mortification of the Pope; and though his Majesty, who only wanted to frighten the Senese, desired the Florentines not to commence Hostilities till fix Months after the Time of the Warning should be expired, they would not agree to that Part of his Request: They had moreover fent the King Two Hundred Men at Arms to pro-

tect

tect the Dutchy of Milan, which His Ma- A. D. jesty demanded of them in consequence of their Consederacy, not so much for the Importance of such an Assistance, as with a View to embroil them with the Pope. And such was the State of the public Affairs in the End of the Year 1510.

THE Beginning of the new Year was fignalized by a most memorable Incident, unexpected, and unknown to all past Ages. For the Pope imagining that the Siege of Mirandola proceeded but flowly, and ascribing the same partly to the Unskilfulness, partly to the Perfidy of his Officers, and especially of his Nephew, though it proceeded in a greater measure from the Multitude of Difficulties, took a Refolution to hasten it by his own Presence. So much did he prefer the Gratification of cious Huhis violent and unruly Passions before all mour of other Regards, that he was not to be re-the Pope. ftrained by confidering with himself how unbecoming it must be, and how unworthy of the Majesty of so exalted a Station, for a Roman Pontiff to go in Perfon with Armies against Christian Towns; VOL. V and

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and the dangerous Consequence of difre-A. D. 1511. garding Fame, and despising the Judgment which all the World would be ready to pass upon him, by furnishing his Enemies with colourable Reasons, and in a manner justifying those who, principally under a Pretence that his Government was pernicious to the Church, and that he was guilty of scandalous and incorrigible Abuses, were labouring to procure a Council, and to stir up the Princes against him. This was the common Talk of the whole Court, every one was furprifed, all highly blamed him, and the Venetian Ambassadors no lefs than the rest: the Cardinals also supplicated him, with the greatest Earnestness, not to go. But no Intreaties nor Perfuafions could prevail with him to alter his Resolution.

out from Bologna, attended by three Cardinals, and arriving in the Camp took up his Quarters in the House of a Peasant, exposed to the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery, being not above two ordinary Bow-shots from the Walls of Mirandola. In this

On the second of January the Pope set

Siege of Miran-dola.

Station

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Station he was continually fatiguing him- A. D. his Mind and Authority, almost perpetually on Horseback, riding now here and now there, about the Lines, and pushing forwards the Completion of the Batteries, which, as well as all the other military Operations, had been hitherto greatly retarded by the extreme Rigour of the Seafon, and by the Snows that fell almost without Intermission, as well as by the Defertion of the Pioneers, which no Care was able to prevent, for, besides their Sufferings on account of the Severity of the Weather, they were greatly annoyed by the Cannon of the Place. It was therefore necessary to cast up new Works for covering the Men employed on the Batteries, and to procure a fresh Recruit of Pio-While these Preparations were making, Julius, finding the Inconveniencies of the Camp at that Season, retired to Concordia, where he was addressed by Al-Peace neberto Pio deputed from Chaumont with gotiated Propositions on various Plans for an Ac-in vain. commodation. But though Alberto took the Pains to go to and fro feveral times

K 2

between

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either through the Pope's usual obstinacy, or because Alberto, as with reason was fuspected, did not act in the Negotiation with due Sincerity.

THE Pope staid but a few Days at Concordia, but hurried back to the Army, with the same Impatience, and an Ardor not to be cooled by the heavy Snow which fell all the Way, nor the fevere Frost, hardly supportable by the Soldiery. He now took his Lodging in a little Church, near his Artillery, and nearer the Walls of the Town than his first Quarters were. And as he was diffatisfied with all that had been done, or was now doing, he broke out into most vehement Complaints against his Officers, except Marc' Antonio Colonna, whom he had newly ordered thither from Modena. In the same violent Manner he hurried himself among the Troops, now crying out upon some for not doing their Duty, then animating and encouraging others, and, in short, performing both in Words and Deeds the Office of General. And to stimulate the Soldiers to behave manfully,

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manfully, he promised to agree to no Ca- A. D. pitulation, but to leave the Town entirely to be plundered at their Diferetion. It was certainly a remarkable Case, and a Sight very uncommon in the Eye of the World, to fee a King of France, a fecular Prince, of an Age not yet past its Vigour, Parallel and at that time in a good State of Health, between trained up from his Youth in the Exercise due of of Arms, at present taking his Repose in the Pope his Apartment, and leaving to his Gene-King of rals the Administration of a War under-France. taken principally against himself; and, on the other Side, to behold the High Priest, the Vicar of Christ on Earth, old and infirm, and educated in Ease and Pleafures, now employed in Person in manageing a War excited by himself against Christians, and at the Siege of a paultry Town, exposing himself to all the Fatigues and Dangers of a Commander of Armies, and retaining nothing of the Pontiff but the Name and the Habit.

JULIUS, by his extreme Sollicitude, his Complaints, his Promises and his Threatenings, prevailed so effectually, that K 2

A. D. the Siege of Mirandola was carried on with greater Expedition than it would otherwise have been. The Progress, however, of the Befiegers was retarded by many Difficulties, which proceeded from the small Number of Pioneers, and because the Army was not provided with many Pieces of Artillery, of which those of the Venetians were not very large, and the Dampness of the Weather in some measure obstructed the Effects of the Gunpowder. The Garrison, confisting of about Four Hundred foreign Foot, commanded by Alessandro da Trivulzio, made a brave Defence, and they were encouraged to make a bolder Refistance from Hopes of Relief, which had been promifed by Chaumont *. That General, having received the King's Orders not to let Mirandola fall into the Hands of the Pope, had fent for the Spanish Foot that were in Verona, affembled his Troops from all Quarters, was continually lifting Men, and caused the Duke

^{*} Mirandola was defended by the Widow of Lodovico Count of Mirandola, who had been dead eight Months. She was Daughter to Gianjacopo da Trivulzio, and Aleffandro, the Commander of the Garrison, was his Cousin-German.

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of Ferrara to do the same, promising to A. D. attack, before the 20th of January was passed, the Enemy in their Camp. But many Circumstances concurred to render the Execution of this Enterprise both difficult and dangerous; as, the Shortness of the Time for getting together the necesfary Provisions, the Leisure given the Enemy to fortify their Camp, and the Fatigue of conducting the Artillery, Ammunition, and Provisions, in so cold a Season, through very bad Roads, and the deepest Snows that had fallen for many Years. And the Difficulties were augmented by the General, who ought to have made Amends, by his Expeditiousness, for his lost Time. For though Chaumont had all on a fudden fet out Post for Milan, under Pretence of a more than ordinary Sollicitude to make Provision of Money and other Necesfaries, it was reported and credited that he was gone thither in Pursuit of an amorous Intrigue with a Milanese Lady. His Absence, though he speedily returned, had greatly depressed the Spirits of his Soldiers, and the Hopes of those who defended Mirandola; whence many did

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not scruple to affirm, that the Hatred which Chaumont had conceived against Gianjacopo da Trivulzio had as pernicious Effects as his Negligence and Cowardice, and that; preferring the Gratification of his own Paffions to the King's Interest, he was pleased with beholding the Grandchildren of Trivulzio deprived of their State. On the other part the Pontiff spared no Pains nor Cost to obtain his Ends, and his Rage was increased by the Death of two Perfons in his Kitchen, who were killed by a Cannon Ball from the Town, which obliged him to remove his Quarters; and, though he could not refrain from returning thither the next Day, he was constrained by new Dangers to retire to the Apartments of Cardinal Regino, which, by Chance, coming to the Knowledge of the Befieged, they pointed a large Piece of Cannon against that Place, which put him in Danger of his Life. At last the Defendants, having entirely lost all Hopes of Relief, the Cannon of the Enemy having done mighty Execution, and besides the Waters of the Ditch being so deeply frozen as to bear the Soldiers, they feared that they

they should not be able to refist the first Af- A. D. fault, which was preparing to be given within two Days; and therefore, on the same Day that Chaumont had promised to be Mirandola with them, fent out Deputies to the Pope, furrenderwith an Offer of Surrender on condition that they might be fecured in their Lives and Effects. The Pope at first answered that he would not be obliged to fave the Lives of the Soldiers, but at length, being overcome by the Intreaties of all his Attendants, he accepted of the Conditions proposed, except that Alessandro da Trivulzio, with some Officers of Foot, should remain his Prisoners; and that the Town, to redeem itself from being plundered, as had been promised the Soldiers, should pay a certain Sum of Money*; but the Troops reckoning the Pillage of the Place as their just Due, because it had been promised them, the Pope was at no small Pains to prevent them from facking it. He caused himself to be mounted upon the Walls, because the Gates were beaten down, and from thence descended into the Town. The Castle surrendered at the same time, and

^{*} Sixty Pound of Gold. Bembo.

A. D. and the Counters had Leave to retire with her Effects. The Pope restored Mirandola to Count Giovanfrancesco*, and made over to him all the Right and Title of the Sons of Lodovico, as acquired by himself in a just War, receiving of him a Bond, and for Security of its Performance the Person of his Son, for the Payment of Twenty Thousand Ducats, within a certain Time, to recompense him for his Charges. For the Security of the Town, that the French might not seize upon it after the Army was gone, he left a Garrison of Five Hundred Spanish and Three Hundred Italian Foot. From Mirandola the Army marched to Sermidi, a Castle in the Mantouan, fituated on the Po, the Pontiff being big with Expectations of acquiring Ferrara without Delay; for on the fame Day that he tooft Possession of Mirandola, he very resolutely answered Alberto Pio that he would no more hearken to any Negotiations of Agreement, if, before he treated on any other Article of Peace, he were not first put in Possession of Ferrara.

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^{*} Because his Father had left it to him by Will. Bembo.

THE Pontiff was, however, obliged to A. D. alter his Measures on a new Resolution taken by the French. For the King, confidering how the Reputation of his Arms King of France 16-

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was diminished by the Loss of Mirandola, solves to and despairing of ever inducing the Pope Eccleto come voluntarily into any equitable Con-fiaftic ditions of Peace, ordered Chaumont not State. only to attend to the Defence of Ferrara, but not to abstain also, if a fair Opportunity presented, from carrying his Arms into the Dominions of the Church. Chaumont. in obedience to these Commands, affembled his Troops from every Quarter, and the Pope, by Advice of his Generals, retired to Bologna, either out of Fear, or to hasten, as it was said, from a nearer Place, the Siege of Fort Genivolo. On this Attempt he defigned to fend fome of the Troops which he had in Romagna, and went himself to Lugos, from whence he proceeded at last to Ravenna, not thinking perhaps that fo petty an Enterprise required his Presence*. The Forces of the Vene-

^{*} In Bologna the Pope labouring under the Burden of Old Age, and the Fatigues he had undergone in that difmal Station at Mirandola, was seized with a Fever and fome old Infirmities. Giovio.

A. D. tians, not thinking fit to attack Ferrara in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had posted themselves at Bondino; and the Ecclefiastic Troops with the Spaniards, who at the Pope's Intreaties continued in his Service beyond the Term of three Months, which was expired, encamped between Cento and Finale.

On the other fide Chaumont, having affembled his Forces, found himfelf superior to the Enemy in Foot, and superior also in the Goodness but not in the Number of his Horse. On holding a Council of War the French Generals advised him to join his Army with the Troops of the Duke of Ferrara, and then to go in quest of the Enemies. And there was Room to hope that, though they were Generals. strongly and advantageously posted, by the Valour of his Men, and by the Force of the Artillery, they would be constrained to retire; and, in confequence, not only the City of Ferrara would be freed from all Danger, but the Arms of the King would intirely recover their lost Reputation to that very Day. It was besides urged,

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urged, in favour of this Opinion, that A. D. the General, in paffing with his Army through the Mantouan, would deprive the Marquis of Excuses, and remove those Impediments, which, as he pretended, prevented him from appearing in Arms, as a Feudatory of Cafar, and in the Pay of the King: And that his Declaration would be very conducive to the Security of Ferrara, and of great Differvice to the Enemy in the War, fince the Forces of the Venetians would by this means be deprived of no small Conveniencies, in furnishing themselves with Provisions, and in the Command of Bridges and Passes of Rivers; and, besides, the Marquis would immediately recall his Troops that were in the Army of the Church.

But Trivulzio, who was returned from France on the same Day that Miran-Opinion dola was lost, was of a different Opinion, of Tridemonstrating the Danger of attacking an Enemy in his strong Entrenchments, and the pernicious Consequence of subjecting themselves to a Necessity of proceeding Day after Day according to his Motions.

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A. D. Motions. It would be of more Service therefore, as well as more fecure, to move with the Army towards Modena, or towards Bologna; because if the Enemy, out of an Apprehension of losing either of these Cities, should make a Motion in order to prevent them, they would obtain their End by diverting the War from Ferrara. If the Enemy should not think fit to move, they might with Ease make themselves Masters of one or other of the Cities; and, in case of Success, the Pope would find himself under a greater Necessity of leaving his strong Camp, in order to defend his own Dominions; and, when he was once got out of his Entrenchments, he might perhaps give them an Opportunity to obtain a glorious Victory over him.

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Such were the Sentiments of Trivulzio; but the Inclinations of Chaumont and of followed the other French Generals outweighing his Authority, the other Advice was approved, being also enforced with the greatest Sollicitude by Alfonso d' Este; for he was in hopes that his Enemies would

by this means be forced to abandon his Dominions, which, he faid, were distressed and exhausted to such a Degree, that it was impossible for them to sustain any longer so great a Burden. He was therefore afraid that if the French should remove to a considerable Distance, the Enemy would enter the Polesine of Ferrara, whence the Distresses of that City, which would in that case be deprived of all that Comfort which remained, would be aggravated beyond Remedy.

The French Army then took the Road Motions of Lucera, and passing by Gonzaga, en-of the camped at Razzuolo and Moia, where Army. they rested three Days on account of the Severity of the Weather, rejecting the Advice of those who proposed to attack Mirandola, because it was impossible to lodge in the open Field, and at the Departure of the Pope all the Villages and Houses about that Place had been burnt. Nor did they think sit to make an Attempt upon Concordia, which was sive Miles distant, being unwilling to lose Time about an Enterprise of so small Importance.

They

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They proceeded therefore to Quistelli, and paffing the Secchia on a Bridge of Boats; encamped the next Day at Rovere on the Po. On the Advice of this March Andrea Gritti, who had recovered the Polefine of Rovigo, and, after leaving Part of the Venetian Troops under Bernardino da Montone at Montagnana, to make Head against the Garrison of Verona, was come with Three Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and One Thousand Foot, to the River Po, in order to proceed and join the Army of the Church, retired to Montagnana, having first plundered the Town of Guaftalla. From Rovere the French proceeded to Sermidi, extending themselves, but under good Discipline, into the circumjacent Villages. While they lay here encamped Chaumont, with fome of his Officers, but without Trivulzio, made a Step to the Town of Stellata, in which Place he expected Alfonso d' Este, in order to consult and resolve in what Manner they were to proceed against the Enemy, who were all got together in their Quarters at Finale. It was there resolved that Alfonso should join

join his Forces with the French about A. D. Bondino, and, thus united, take up their 1511. Quarters in certain Villages three Miles distant from Finale, their future Proceedings to be regulated according to the Nature of the Places, and the Motions of the Enemy. But as foon as Chaumont was returned to Sermidi, he was informed that it was very difficult to conduct an Army to these Quarters, because of the Waters of which the Country about Finale was full; and that there was no going thither but by the Road and along the Banks of a Canal, which the Enemy had taken Care to cut in many Places, and had also posted Guards to prevent the Paffage; which, together with the Inclemency of the Season, rendered the Undertaking very dangerous. Chaumont being startled at these Difficulties, Alfonso, who was attended by fome Engineers, and Men acquainted with the Country, endeavoured to leffen them, by shewing the Situation and Disposition of the Places, affirming that, by the Force of his Cannon, he would constrain those who guarded the cut Passes to abandon them, after which VOL. V.

A. D it would be very eafy to throw over Bridges, where it was necessary for a Paffage. The General having referred the Case to be argued and disputed in a Council, the Proposition of Alfonso was approved, Trivulzio rather not oppofing than confenting to it; and perhaps his Taciturnity had a greater Effect upon the Council than his Contradiction would have gained, for it fet them on confidering the Case more nearly, when it appeared that the Difficulties were greater; and it was of no small Weight with them, that this old and long experienced General had always condemned this March. Chaumont also fearing that, if any Misfortune should happen, the King would charge him as the Author of it, in Contradiction to the Opinion of so wise a Captain, adjourned the Council to the Day following, when he earnestly intreated Trivulzio to express his Opinion, not with Silence, as he had done the Day before, but in plain and open Words. That Commander being moved by his Instances, and much more by the Importance of the Point in Debate, flood

THE WARS IN ITALY. 163 ftood up, and, all listening to him with A. D. the greatest Attention, spoke thus:

" I held my Peace yesterday because I have found, by frequent Experience, that little Regard has been paid to my Speech of Advice, which, if followed at first, would Trivulzio have prevented our Coming to this Place, cilof War. and spending, to no Purpose, so many Days, which might have been employed to good Advantage. And, indeed, I should be to-day in the same Sentiment of keeping Silence, if the Importance of the Cause did not urge me to speak; for we are just on the Brink of venturing, as I may fay, on one very uncertain Chance of a Die, this Army, the State of the Duke of Ferrara, and the Dutchy of Milan; a Stake too great to hazard all at once, without referving fomething for another Cast. And I am farther invited, because, if I guess right, Chaumont defires that I should be the first to advise him to what he is already inclined in his own Mind; a Thing not new to me, for I have at other times known my Counfels lefs despised when the Question was about re-L 2 tracting

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A. D. tracting fomething which, perhaps, was not too maturely refolved, than when the first Resolutions were taken. We debate about marching to fight the Enemy: I have always known it an inviolable Maxim of great Captains, and have learnt it also by my own Experience, never to try the Fortune of a Battle, unless invited by some great Advantage, or forced by some urgent Necessity. Besides, according to the Rules of War, it belongs to our Enemies, who are the Aggressors, by putting themfelves in Motion with a Defign to make a Conquest of Ferrara, to seek all Occasions to come to a Battle; and no way to us, to whom it is sufficient to stand upon the Defenfive without putting ourselves to Trouble, contrary to all Military Discipline, to find out and attack them. But let us fee what Advantage or Necessity there may be to induce us. To me it appears, and, if I am not wholly mistaken, is evident to a Demonstration, that what the Duke of Ferrara has proposed cannot be attempted without very great Disadvantage, fince there is no Passage to the Quarters designed, but along the Declivity of a Bank, by a narrow

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narrow and very bad Road, where all our A. D. Forces cannot extend themselves, and where the Enemy can with a fmall Number refist a much greater. We must be under a Necessity of marching along a Bank Horse after Horse; we must convey our Cannon, Waggons, Carts and Pontons by the narrow Passage of this Bank. And who knows not that, in a narrow and bad Road, every Piece of Cannon, every Waggon that founders, will stop the whole Army for an Hour at least; and that when we are encumbered with fo many Inconveniencies every cross Accident may easily put us into Disorder? The Enemies lodge under Covert, and are provided with Food and Forrage; we must almost all of us take up our Lodging in the open Air, and it will be necessary that Forrage should be brought after us, nor can we, without the greatest Fatigue, be furnished with half of what we shall want. We are not to refer ourselves to the Reports of Engineers, or of Peasants acquainted with the Country; for Wars are managed by the Weapons of Soldiers, under the Directions of Generals, by fighting in the open Field, not by Plans L3 drawn

A. D. drawn by Men ignorant of War on Paper, or traced out with the Finger or Stick in the Dust. For my Part, I cannot imagine that the Enemies are so weak, or their Affairs in such Disorder, or that, in their encamping and fortifying themselves, they fo little knew how to make their Advantage of the Waters and Situation, that I can promise myself, that as soon as we are arrived in our defigned Quarters, supposing that we could readily convey ourselves thither, we shall have it in our Power to attack them. Many Difficulties may intervene to supersede our Attempt for two or three Days; and, if there be no other Difficulty, the Snows and the Rains in this unfavourable and inconfrant Season will restrain us. But in what a Condition shall we be in respect to Provisions and Forrage, if it should happen that we must stay there? And, even supposing that we should have it in our Power to attack them, who is he that can promise himself so easy a Victory? Where is the Man that confiders not how dangerous it is to go in Quest of Enemies encamped in a strong Place, and at the same time to have to deal with them and with

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with the Difadvantages of the Situation of A. D. the Country? If we do not compel them speedily to quit their Camp, we shall be forced to retire ourselves; and how difficult must that be through a Country where all the People are against us, and where every little Difaster will greatly increase our Misfortunes! I fee less Necessity for so precipitately endangering the whole State of the King, fince we have put ourselves in Motion principally for no other Cause than to succour the City of Ferrara, into which if we put a Reinforcement, we need not doubt of its Security, even tho' we should disband the Army. If it be said, that the Place is so exhausted, that, the Enemy's Army continuing to straiten it, it is impossible but that, in a short time, it must fall of itself; have we not in our Hands the Remedy of Diversion, a very powerful Remedy in Wars, by which, without endangering so much as a Horse, we can compel the Enemy to retire from Ferrara, and leave the City at Liberty? I have always advised, and now more than ever advise, that we turn our March either towards Modena or Bologna, taking the broad L 4

broad Way, and leaving Ferrara well provided for a few Days, for a longer Time will not be necessary. I am rather now for going to Modena, to which we are incited by the Cardinal d' Este, who has affured us that he has a Correspondence in the Place, and that it would prove a very easy Acquisition. After a Conquest so important the Enemies will be constrained immediately to retire towards Bologna. And even though we should not take Modena, the Fear of it, and a Sollicitude for the Safety of Bologna, will force them to do the same, as they would undoubtedly have done many Days ago, if at first this Advice had been followed."

Every one now could discern, from the efficacious Reasons of Trivulzio, the Difficulties presented before his Eyes, which that General had discerned himself when they were yet at a Distance. His Opinion therefore was approved by all, and Chaumont, leaving with the Duke of Ferrara a greater Number of Troops for his Security, marched back with his Army by the same Road towards Carpi, not having

169 having as yet prevailed with the Marquis A. D. of Mantoua to declare himself; which was

one of the principal Reasons alledged by those who gave Counsel against the Opi-of Mannion of Trivulzio. The Marquis, defiring toua emto keep himself neuter in this turbulent Juncture, when the Time was approaching in which he had given Expectations of declaring himself, alledged various Excuses, that he might be permitted to defer it for fome Days. To the Pope he reprefented the imminent Danger that hung over his Head from the French Army; and he begged Chaumont not to defeat his Hopes that the Pope would, in a very short Time, restore him his Son.

THE Defign against Modena did not, however, take Effect, being obstructed more by the Policy and fecret Counfels of the King of Aragon than by the Arms of the Pope. Cæsar had taken Offence at the Pontiff's feizing on Modena, a City that for a great Length of Time was reputed within the Jurisdiction of the Empire, and had been for a great Number of Years in Possession of the Family of Este by the Privileges

A. D. Privileges and Investiture of the Emperors. And though Cafar had made Instances, with many Complaints, to have it put into his Possession, yet the Pope, whether he had, or pretended to have, different Sentiments concerning the Right and Property of that City, was at first averse to his Request, especially while he was in Hopes of eafily making himself Master of Ferrara. But now fince the French Arms were openly employed in favour of the House of Este, being sensible that he could not keep Modena without a great Expence, he began to relish the Counfel of the King of Aragon, who advised him to confent, in order to avoid fo many Troubles, to mitigate the Spirit of Cafar, and for laying a Foundation for a Mifunderstanding between that Prince and the King of France; especially considering that, if he should defire to have it again at a more proper Juncture, he might still obtain it of Cæsar for a moderate Sum of Money. This Affair was many Days under Debate, the Pope's Resolutions varying according to his Hopes; but there was one Difficulty that could not be removed, which

which was, that Cafar would not receive the Offer, if in the Deed of Affignment it were not clearly expressed that the City of Modena was a Fief of the Empire. The Pontiff shewed great Reluctancy against confenting to this; but when he faw that, foon after he was in Possession of Mirandola, Chaumont had taken the Field with a potent Army, and that the same Difficulties and Charge for the Defence of Modena returned upon him, he put an End to all further Disputes, and consented that, in the Instrument of Affignment, it should be expresly said, that Modena was restored to Cæfar, to whose Jurisdiction it did properly belong*. As foon as Vitfrust, Casar's Ambassador, residing with the Pope, had taken Possession of the Place, persuading himself that the Authority of Casar was a fufficient Security to preserve it, he difmissed Marc' Antonio Colonna, with the Troops that were in Garrison under the Name of the Church, and fignified to Chaumont

^{*} Pope Julius restored Modena to the Emperor with a Design to induce him, by this Example, to demand Reggio of the French, and, in case of Resusal, to renounce their Friendship, and to enter into an Alliance with himself. Bembo.

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A. D. Chaumont that Modena no longer belonged to the Pope, but was rightfully returned under the Dominion of Casar. Chaumont would not believe that this was true, and therefore urged the Cardinal of Este to put in Execution the Plot which, he faid, he had formed in that City. The Cardinal accordingly ordered the Troops that Chaumont had left in Garrison at Rubiera to approach one Night as filently as possible within a Mile of Modena; but those within, either on account of some intervening Difficulty, or because the French came before the Time, not answering the appointed Signs, the Soldiers returned the same Night to Rubiera; from whence they marched out again another Night with a Defign to approach Modena, but were prevented by the Swelling and Violence of the Waters from passing the River Secchia, which runs before Rubiera. These Atretake Mo- tempts giving Suspicion to Vitfrust, he imprisoned some Modenese who were accused of intriguing with the Cardinal d' Este, and obtained of the Pope the Return of Marc'

> Artonio Colonna with the same Garrison. This, however, would not have prevented

> > Chaumont,

French fail to dena.

Chaumont, who was already advanced to A. D. Carpi, from laying Siege to Modena, if the Quality of the Season had not obstructed the drawing of his heavy Cannon along the Way between Ruolo and Carpi, which is not above ten Miles, but the worst of all the Roads in Lombardy, which in Winter being overflown with Water, and deep in Mud, are, in general, very bad Besides this, Chaumont was every Day more and more affured that Modena was actually made over to Cæsar, for which Reason he agreed with Vitfrust not to molest Modena nor its Territory, Vitfrust engaging on his Part to observe an exact Neutrality in the

warlike Proceedings between the Pope and

the Most Christian King.

Chaumont a few Days after was feized with a violent Disorder, and being carried Deathand to Corregio died after fifteen Days Illness, Character having before his Death declared, with of Chaugreat Marks of Devotion, that he was heartily forry for his Offences committed against the Church, and supplicated the Pope, by a public Instrument, to grant him Absolution, which was obtained while

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A. D. while he was yet alive, but could not come to his Knowledge before his Death*. He was an Officer of great Authority in Italy, for, through the prevailing Interest of the Cardinal of Rouen, he administer'd the Dutchy of Milan, and commanded the King's Armies in almost a despotic Manner. But his Abilities were much inferior to his great Employments; for, when he was constituted in the high Station of Captain General, he neither knew the Arts of War himself, nor trusted to those who understood them. Hence, after the Death of his Uncle, his Infufficiency being no longer supported by Favour, he was in a manner despised by the Soldiers, to whom, because they should not make an ill Report of him to the King, he gave Indulgence in all Sorts of Licentiousness, and to such a Degree that Trivulzio, a General trained up in the antient Discipline, often declared, with

^{*} Charles d' Ambois, alias Chaumont, was highly blamed for not relieving Mirandola, and for not recovering Modena for Alfonsa, whence he fell into Disgrace with the King, who regarded him as a Person deficient in Courage and Resolution. His Sense of the King's Displeasure, and of the Censures past upon his Conduct, sat so heavy upon his Spirits, that he died of a broken Heart. Bembe.

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with an Oath, that he would go no more A. D. into the French Armies, unless the King were there in Person, or that he himself had the Command in chief. The King, however, had designed to send, as Successor to Chaumont before his Death, Monsieur Longueville, a Bastard, of the royal Blood, who was not so much honoured and esteemed for his Valour, or Skill in the Art of War, as for his Birth and Riches.

By the Death of Chaumont the Command of the Army, according to the established Customs of France, till the King had made a new Appointment, devolved on Gianjacopo Trivulzio, one of the four Marshals of that Kingdom, who, not knowing how long he should continue in his Place, durst not attempt any thing of Moment. He returned, however, with the Army to Sermidi, with a Defign to march to the Relief of the Fort of Genivolo, which the Pope had distressed with the Troops that he had in Romagna, and had procured also the Venetian Fleet, confifting of thirteen light Galleys and a great Number of smaller Vessels, to approach

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Ferrara

A. D. proach the Fort. But it was needless for Trivulzio to proceed any farther; for while the Pope's Troops lay about the Place in a careless Posture, and under little Obedience or Discipline, they were all on a fudden attacked by the Duke of Ferrara, and Chatillon with the French Troops, who, with a Body of Forces superior to those of the Enemy, marched out of Ferrara, the Horse proceeding along the Bank of the Po, while the Foot embarked, and with the Stream arrived at the River Santurno, Duke of over which laying a Bridge that they had brought with them, they were in a Movictorious ment on the Back of the Enemy; who being in Disorder made no manner of Refistance, except Three Hundred Spanish Foot posted to guard the Artillery, but betook themselves to Flight. Guido Vaina, Brunoro da Forli, and Meleagro his Brother, Officers of Horse, with Difficulty

> on the Po. Thus various were the Operations of War, without affording as yet any Foundation

> faved themselves, but the Colours and Artillery were lost; the Venetian Fleet gave no Affistance, but to avoid the Danger weighed Anchor and dispersed themselves

dation for passing a Judgment on the final Issue; and no less different and uncertain were the Defigns of the Princes, especially of Cafar, who unexpectedly refolved to fend the Bishop of Goritz to Trent to negotiate a Peace. This Bishop was employed, as we said before, in establishing an Agreement between the King of France and Cæsar for carrying on the War against the Venetians with a mighty Force next Spring; and, if the Pope should not obferve the League of Cambray, to convoke a Council. Cæsar, being much intent on this last Project, had summoned together the Prelates of his hereditary States to confult in what Manner, and at what Place this Council was to be held. But as he was naturally fickle and inconstant, and an Enemy to the Name of the French, he began afterwards to hearken to the Advice of the King of Aragon. That Prince reflecting that the Union between Cafar and Advice of the French King, and the Depression of of Aragon. the Venetians by their joint Forces, together with the Downfal of the Pope by means of a Council, would increase the Power of the King of France to an exorbi-

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tant Degree, had endeavoured to persuade Casar that an universal Peace was more for his Purpose, provided he could by that Means obtain the whole or the greater Part of what the Venetians had usurped from him. He advised him therefore to fend to Mantoua some Person of known Abilities with full Powers, and to use his Interest that the King of France might make the same Step, as he had determined to do himfelf; whence the Pope could not refuse to concur in the same Measure, and act in conformity to the Will of fo many Princes, on whose Resolutions depended those of the Venetians, who, to avoid being abandoned and left to themselves, would be under a Necessity to follow their Authority. There was good Reason to hope, he faid, that Cafar, without Difficulty, without Arms, without increasing the Power or Reputation of the King of France, would, to his infinite Praife, together with an universal Peace, recover his State. And even supposing that, contrary to all Expectation, he should not succeed, he would still be at Liberty to take the Field at the Time appointed, and with the fame Advantages. Advantages. Moreover, as he was the A. D. Head of all the Christian Princes, and the Advocate of the Church, it would tend much to his Justification, and exalt his Glory to a high Degree, if, by following this Advice, he made it manifest to all the World that his chief Desire was Peace and Union among Christians, and that it was the Obstinacy and Perverseness of those who would not hearken to good Counsel that constrained him to take up Arms.

THESE Reasons were convincing to Cæsar, and therefore he wrote Letters at the same time to the Pontiff, and to the King of France. He signified to the Pon-Casar's Letter to tiff that he had resolved to send the Bishop the Pope. of Goritz into Italy, because he had determined to procure, as much as in him lay, the Tranquillity of the Apostolic See, and the Peace of Christendom, as it was becoming a religious Prince, who was, by the Imperial Dignity, the Advocate of the Church, and the Head of all the Christian Princes. He admonished his Holiness to act in Conformity with him, as it was the Duty of the true Vicar of Christ, that so, M 2

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A. D. by duly performing the Office of a Pontiff, he might not constrain the Princes to think on Remedies necessary for the Quiet of Christians. He did not approve of his Holiness's seeking for Reasons to deprive the absent Cardinals of the Dignity of the Cardinalship, because they did not absent themselves out of Malignity, or Hatred against his Holiness, and therefore deferved no fuch Punishment; and, besides, the Deprivation of a Cardinal did not belong to the Pope alone. He put the Pontiff also in mind that it was a very unworthy Act, and of no Benefit, in so troublesome a Juncture, to create new Cardinals, and it was also forbidden him in the Articles made and agreed on by the Cardinals at the Time of his Election to the Popedom. He exhorted him to referve fuch a Step for more peaceable Times, in which he would be under no Necessity, nor have Cause to promote any to so great a Dignity but Persons of a most approved Character for Prudence, Learning and Manners.

To the King of France.

To the King of France Cæfar wrote in Substance, that knowing the Inclination that

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that his Majesty had always had to a safe A. D. and honourable Peace, he had resolved to fend to Mantoua the Bishop of Goritz, in order to treat of an universal Peace, to which he had good Reasons to believe that the Pope, whose Authority the Venetians would be constrained to follow, was really inclined: That the Ambassadors of the King of Aragon would engage that their Master would do the same; and therefore he intreated his Majesty to send thither also his Ambassadors with full Powers: That, as foon as their Plenipotentiaries were affembled together, the Bishop of Goritz should request of the Pope to send his Minister also to the Congress, and, in case of Refusal, would denounce to him, in the Name of all the Potentates, a general Council. He added that, in order to proceed with the greater Justice, and to put an End to all Controversies, Goritz would hear the Reasons of each Party. whatever happened, he might affure himfelf that the Venetians would come to no Agreement, if, at the same time, all Differences with the Pope were not settled.

M 3

THE

A. D.

Pope pleafed with a Congress.

THE Pontiff was pleased at this Step, not from a View of Peace or Concord, but because he persuaded himself that he could dispose the Venetian Senate to come to an Agreement with Casar, by which that Prince, being freed from a Necessity of continuing united with the King of France, would separate himself from him, whence would easily result a Confederacy of many Princes against that King.

But this unforeseen Resolution of Casar was very disagreeable to the King of France, because, as he had no Hopes that an univerfal Peace would be the Refult of it, the least Evil he apprehended was the Delay it would occasion in the Execution of those Operations that he had concerted with Cæsar. He was under Apprehensions also that the Pope, by promising Cæsar to asfift him in conquering the Dutchy of Milan, and to Goritz the Dignity of a Cardinal, with other Ecclefiastical Favours, might separate that Prince from his Alliance, or at least occasion his coming to a Composition with the Venetians upon less favourable

all

favourable Terms, when he himself would A. D. be constrained to accept of Peace upon very dishonourable Conditions. His Jealoufy was increased by Cæsar's entering into a new Confederacy with the Swifs, though it was only defensive: He perfuaded himself also that the Catholic King French had been the Author of this new Measure King furtaken by Cæsar, and he greatly suspected picious of the Inclination of that Prince upon many of Aragon. Accounts. He knew that his Ambassador at Cafar's Court was busying himself, and openly employed in promoting an Accommodation between Cæfar and the Venetians. He believed that he fecretly encouraged the Pope, in whose Army his Troops had continued for a much longer Term than they were obliged by the Contract of the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples. He knew that, to obstruct his Undertakings, he had strenuously opposed the Calling of a Council, and, under a Pretence of Fitness and Decency, had openly condemned the Undertaking of such a Work while Italy was embroiled in Wars, and full of armed Forces, declaring, that to hold a Council without the Confent of

M 4

A. D. all the Princes could produce nothing but pernicious and malignant Effects. He had Notice also that his Catholic Majesty was preparing a very powerful Fleet, and, tho' he had published abroad that he intended to pass in Person into Africa, he could not affure himself that his Preparations were not intended for some other Design. His Suspicions were much increased by the foft and obliging Way of addressing him used by Ferdinando, in which he intreated his Majesty, as a Brother, to make Peace with the Pope, even though it were at the Price of receding from his Rights, if it could not be done otherwise, that he might not shew himself a Persecutor of the Church. contrary to the antient Piety of the House of France, nor interrupt the War which he had defigned, for propagating the Christian Faith, against the Moors in Africa, by involving at the same time all Christendom in Contentions. He added, that it had been always the Custom of Christian Princes, when they took up Arms against the Infidels, to demand, in so pious a Cause, the Affistance of others; but, as for himfelf, he was contented if he was not hindered,

185 A. D.

dered, and that he defired no other Aid or Encouragement from him than only to consent that Italy should remain in Peace. These plausible Expressions of the Sentiments of the King of Aragon, though prefented to the King by the Spanish Ambasfador, and spoken by Ferdinando himself to the French Ambassador resident at his Court, in a very infinuating Way, and with great Demonstrations of Love, appeared to the King of France as containing a tacit Protestation of his taking up Arms in favour of the Pope, which it was probable he would not venture to do without Hopes of inducing Cæfar to do the fame.

THE King was much disturbed with fuch Reflections, and greatly fuspected that to treat of a Peace by means of the Bishop of Goritz would be either fruitless, or prejudicial to his Interest. That he might not, however, give any Cause of Offence to Cæsar, he resolved to send to Mantoua the Bishop of Paris, a Prelate of great Authority, and a learned Civilian. At the same Time he fignified to Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, who had his Head Quarters at Sermidi,

and,

and, for the greater Conveniency of

A. D. Operations of

Army.

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Lodging, and Provisions, had distributed the Army into feveral of the circumjacent Towns, that it was his Will that the War the French should be under his Direction, but with this Limitation, that, till the Arrival of the Bishop of Goritz, who was soon expected, he should undertake nothing against the Ecclefiaftic State, which indeed was not in his Power to do on account of the unusual Severity of the Season, for, though it was the Beginning of March, it was not poffible for the Troops to lodge without Trivulzio therefore, having no Opportunity to make any other Attempt, resolved to try if he could not, since the Enemy was posted so near him, find a Way to attack or distress them. They had extended their Quarters when Chaumont returned from Sermidi to Carpi, and lodged all the Infantry at Bondino, and the Cavalry at Finale and the neighbouring Villages. The General then, having received the King's Commission, marched the next Day to Stellata, and the Day following advanced somewhat farther, where he distributed his Army under Covert in the circumja-

circumjacent Villages; and having laid a A. D. Bridge of Boats over the Po, between, 1511. Stellata and Ficheruolo, he appointed the Duke of Ferrara to lay another Bridge a Mile lower at a Place called the Point, on that Branch of the Po that goes up to Ferrara, and to come with a Train of Artillery to the Spedaletto, a Place in the Polefine * of Ferrara, which lies over against Bondino. In the mean time Trivulzio had Notice by his Spies, that a large Detachment of light Horse of that Part of the Venetian Army which was beyond the Po was appointed to approach the next Night to Mirandola, to lie there in Ambush; on which he gave fecret Orders to a good Body of Horse to march thither. These arriving at Bellaere, a Palace in the Territory of Mirandola, fell upon Fra Lionardo, a Neapolitan, Captain of the Venetian light Horse, and an Officer of great Reputation in the Army, who, not having the least Apprehensions of the Coming of the Enemy, had, with an Hundred and Fifty others, difmounted, and were in expectation to be followed by a greater Number; but being furprised,

^{*} Marshes.

A. D. furprised, and standing on the Defensive, Lionardo, with many others of his Troop, were killed *. Alfonfo d'Este came to the Spedaletto, according to Appointment, and the next Night began to fire with his Artillery against Bondino; and at the same Time Trivulzio ordered Monf. Gaston de Foix, Son of the King's Sifter, who was yet very young, and came into the Army the Year before, to make an Excursion with an Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, as far as the Barricades of the Enemy's Quarters. This Detachment put to flight an Hundred and Fifty Foot appointed to guard that Side, whence the rest of the Enemy's Troops, leaving some Men to defend Bondino, retired over the Canal to a Place strongly situated. Trivulzio, however, did not succeed in any of his Defigns; for the Artillery planted against Bondino, the Po lying between, did but little Execution because of the Distance. and much more because the Po being fwelled.

Fra Lionardo of Otranto was a Knight of Jerusalem. His Brethren placed his Statue on Horseback in the Church of St. Giovanni and Paolo, where it stands to this Day.

fwelled, and its Banks cut by the Gar- A. D. flowed, that there was no Access from the French Camp to Bondino but by Boats. Hence the General, despairing of penetrating to the Enemy's Quarters by that Avenue, sent for Two Thousand German Foot from Verona, and ordered a Levy of Three Thousand Grisons, with a Design to approach them by the Way of San Felice. if a Treaty of Peace did not interpose by means of the Bishop of Goritz.

THE Arrival of that Prelate was somewhat retarded by his waiting feveral Days at Salo on the Lake of Garda, in fruitless Expectations of an Answer from the Pope, whom he had follicited by Letters to fend Congress his Ambassadors to the Congress. But at of Manlength he arrived at Mantoua, accompanied 'oua. by Don Pedro d'Urrea, Resident in ordinary of the King of Aragon with Cafar. A few Days after arrived the Bishop of Paris from the King of France, who was come as far as Lions, that he might be nearer to the Negotiations of Peace and the Provisions of War, persuading himself that the

THE HISTORY OF

the Pontiff would also send his Plenipo-A. D. tentiary. But His Holiness on the other Side infifted that the Bishop should wait on him, being induced not fo much because it appeared to him most suitable to the Pontifical Dignity, as because he was in Hopes that by honouring that Prelate, and loading him with Promifes, and by the Efficacy and Authority of his Presence, he might induce him to comply with his own Inclinations, which were more averse than ever to Concord and Peace; and, that he might the more eafily persuade the Bishop to come to Rome, he procured Girolamo Vich, the Spanish Minister at his Court, to wait on him.

GORITZ did not refuse to wait on His Holiness, but said he required of him to do Reasonsof that first which was more proper to be done Goritz for afterwards. He afferted that it was easier waiting to remove Difficulties by treating first at mantoua; that he intended to pay Obedience to His Holiness when Matters were digested, and in a manner concluded; and that he was restrained from complying with the Pope's Desire, not only with respect

spect to the Facility of Success, but also A. D. as much by Necessity: For how was 1511. it possible for him, without breaking the Laws of Decency and Good Manners, to leave alone by himfelf the Bishop of Paris, who was deputed by the King of France to Mantoua at the Instances of Cæsar? With what Hopes could that Prelate then pretend to treat of the Affairs of the King his Master? Or where would be the Fitness of requesting him to go along with him to the Pope, fince neither his Commission, nor the Dignity of his King would fuffer him to go into the House of an Enemy before their Differences were composed, or at least in a fair Way of Accommodation?

The two Aragonese Ambassadors argued to the contrary, by shewing that all Arguments of the Hopes of Peace depended on accomthe Spamodating the Affair of Ferrara, because hassadors if that could be effected the Pope would not the longer have any Cause to support the Venetians, who then would be under a Necessity of accepting a Peace on such Conditions as Caesar himself should please to prescribe: That the Pope pretended that

A. D. the Apostolic See had very strong Claims upon the City of Ferrara; that besides he thought himself treated by Alfonso d' Este with great Ingratitude, and to have fuffered great Injuries from him; and to pacify his Indignation, which was highly provoked, it was fitter and more to the Purpose for the Vassal to crave the Mercy of his Superior than to call in Question his Justice. For this Reason it was not only meet, but in a manner necessary, in order to obtain that Clemency, for the Bishop to remove to Rome, and urge the Case before the Pope, which they did not doubt would foften his Spirit, and dispose him to abate much of the Rigour of his Severity; and they thought it much to be regretted that so much Industry, Diligence and Authority, which ought to have been employed in disposing the Pope to a Peace, should be thrown away in perfuading him to fend Ambassadors to the Congress. They added, in very plaufible Speeches, that there could be no Disputation, nor Termination

> of Differences where all the Parties did not intervene; but that at Mantoua there was but one Party, for Cafar, the Most

> > Christian

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Christian King, and the Catholic King M. D. were so linked together in Leagues, Affinities and Affection, that they ought to be reputed as Brothers, and the Interest of each Particular as common to them all. Goritz at last consented to go, while it was agreed that the Bishop of Paris should stay at Parma, in expectation of the Success of his Journey.

THE Pontiff at this Time, while thefe Steps were making towards a Peace, had not laid aside the Thoughts of War, but resolved to make a new Attempt on the Fort of Genivolo, and committed the Conduct of it to Giovanni Vitelli. But the Number of Foot being much less than was defigned, on account of the Scantiness of the Pay, and the Grounds about the Fort being laid under Water by the Rains, and because the Garrison had cut the Dikes, no Progress was made in the Siege. Alfonso d' Este also had the Superiority on the Waters; for having with his Fleet of Gallies and Brigantines attacked near S. Alberto the Venetian Fleet, the Venetians, during the Fight, being VOL. V. N ter194

Makes a

Promo-

tion of

A. D. terrified at the Discovery of a Fleet of Imaller Veffels coming from Comacchio, fled into the Port of Ravenna, with the Pope fails Loss of two Fusti, three Barbotti *, and to take Genivolo. above Forty smaller Vessels; hence the Pope lost all Hopes of taking the Fort, and fent the Troops that lay before it to the Camp at Finale.

AT the same time the Pope created Eight Cardinals, with a View partly to procure the Good Will of the Princes, and partly to fortify himself against the Threats of a Council by the Affistance of learned and experienced Prelates, and fuch as were of Authority in the Court of Rome: Amongst these Cardinals was the Cardinals. Archbishop of York, called by the Latins Eboracensis, Ambassador of the King of England, and the Bishop of Sion; this latter, as a Person of Importance for putting in Motion the Nation of the Swifs; and the former at the Sollicitations of his King, whom he was in no fmall Hopes of exciting against the French. And to give the Bishop of Goritz, as it were, a

A Sort of Lighter.

195 fure Earnest of the same Dignity, and A. D.

by the Hopes of it to render him the 1511. more supple and compliant to his Desires, he referved, with the Confent of the Confistory, the Power of nominating another reserved in Petto. *.

WHEN His Holiness understood that the Bishop of Goritz had consented to come to him, he thought fit to receive him with diftinguishing Honours, and thinking that none could be greater than for a Roman Pontiff to put himself on the Way to meet him, and also defirous, for the greater Conveniency of honouring him, to receive him in a magnificent City, he went from Ravenna to Bologna, into which, the third Day after his Arrival, the Bishop of Goritz made his Entry, and was received with fuch Marks of Honour that a King could hardly expect greater. Nor did the Bishop fall short of the Pope in Pomp and Mag-

N 2 nificence:

^{*} In Petto, from the Latin in Pectore, literally, in English, in the Breast; so that to reserve in Petto is the same as what we often say, to reserve in our Breaft. A Cardinal in Petto is in fact a Cardinal from the Time of Such Creation.

nificence; for being Cæfar's Lieutenant in , Italy, he was attended by a vast Train of Lords and Noblemen, all with their Servants in Liveries most splendidly adorned. At the Gate of the City he was met by the Venetian Ambassador resident at the Pope's Court, who paid him his Respects with the most profound Submission; but the Bishop, full of Pride beyond Imagina-Proud Be-tion, turning towards the Ambassador,

of the

with Marks of the utmost Scorn and In-Bishop of dignation both in Words and Gestures, shewed himself highly affronted that one who represented the Enemies of Caefar had dared to present himself before his Sight. Goritz was conducted in the most pompous Manner to a public Confistory, where the Pope and all the Cardinals attending his Coming, before whom, in a short Speech, but in a very haughty Strain, he declared that Cafar had fent him into Italy out of a Defire to obtain his Rights rather by the Way of Peace than of War, and that this could not be effected, if the Venetians did not restore all that in any manny whatfoever belonged to him. After this public Audience, he

had

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had a private Conference with the Pope, A. D. where he declared the fame Sentiments; and with the same Haughtiness. The next Day he shewed no less Pride in his Actions than he had done in his Speeches and Behaviour: For the Pontiff having, with his own Confent, deputed the three Cardinals, of St. Giorgio, Regino, and de' Medici, to treat with him, they waited for him at the Time appointed for their Meeting; but the Bishop, as if it was beneath him to treat with any but the Pope, sent three of his Gentlemen to treat with them, excusing himself on his being employed on other Affairs. The Pope swallowed this Indignity with many others, his invincible Hatred against the French getting the better of his natural Temper.

In treating of an Agreement between Cafar and the Venetians, which was the first Thing brought upon the Carpet, many Difficulties occurred: For tho' Goritz, who had at first demanded the whole Terra firma, confented at last that Padoua and Trevigi, with their whole

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Cæfar's

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Territories and Appurtenances, should remain in the Possession of the Venetians; yet he infifted on their paying to Cæsar a very large Sum of Money in recompence*, and that they should acknowledge themselves his Feudatories for these Cities, and renounce all their Claims to the other Towns. These Demands were rejected by the Senate, who unanimously concluded that, fince they had fortified exorbitant Demands Padoua and Trevigi in fuch a Manner that they were not afraid of lofing them, it Venetians, was more for the Interest of the Republic to keep their Money; for, when the preient Storm was once passed over their Heads, some favourable Opportunity might present itself for recovering the rest of their Dominions.

> On the other hand the Pontiff was ardently desirous that the Venetians should agree with Cæfar, in hopes that the Confequence of fuch an Agreement would be the Diffolution of the Union between that

^{*} Two Hundred Thousand Crowns for the Investiture of Padoua and Trevigi, and Fifty Thousand Crowns a Year High-Rent or Fee Money. Buonac.

1511.

that Prince and the King of France. With this View he was continually stimulating, both by Intreaties and Menaces, the Senate to accept of the Conditions proposed. But his Authority had not fo much Weight with them, not only because they knew the Motives that prompted him to this extreme Sollicitude, but because they were fenfible how necessary their Alliance would be to him if he should not reconcile himfelf with the King of France, and therefore affured themselves that he would never abandon them. At length, however, after a Dispute of many Days, the Bishop abating fomewhat of his Stiffness, and the Venetians shewing more Compliance than they had intended, at the most pressing Instances of the Pope, seconded by the Interpolition of the Amballadors of the King of Aragon, who were present at all the Debates, the two Parties feemed to be agreed, the Venetians paying for Cæsar's Consent to their keeping Possession of Pa-Agreement bedoua and Trevigi a great Sum of Money, tween Cabut at very distant Times *.

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^{*} The abovefaid Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, and Fifty Thousand Crowns a Year, but without any

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1511.

IT now remained to find some Means for effecting a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King of France, who feemed to have no other Cause for their Difference but the Affairs of the Duke of Ferrara. Goritz, in order to put an End to this Controversy, because Casar had resolved to come to no Agreement unless this Point was fettled, went to confer with the Pope, whom he had very rarely vifited; perfuading himself, by the Hopes which were infused into him by the Cardinal of Pavia and the Ambassadors of the Catholic King, that it would not be difficult for him to fucceed. And as for the King of France, he was very well affured that he had less Regard to his Dignity than to his Quiet, and was therefore disposed to confent to many Things, though prejudicial to the Duke of Ferrara. But he had hardly entered upon his Discourse when

any other Acknowledgment; but there still remained some Difference about the Patriarchate of Aquileia. Moc. Buonac. This Dispute about the Patriarchate of Aquileia was lately revived, and was not determined till the Pope divided it into two Bishoprics, one subject to the House of Austria, the other to the Venetians.

the Pope interrupted him, and advised him A. D. 1511. to mind his Agreement with the Venetians, and not meddle with the Affairs of Ferrara*; lamenting that Cæfar should be ignorant what a fine Opportunity he had of revenging himself for the many Injuries he had received of the French, with the Forces, and at the Expence of others; and that he should expect to be intreated for what in all Reason he ought to supplicate with the utmost Earnestness. The Bishop replied, and enforced his Discourse with many Reasons, but could not make the Pope alter his Sentiments, and therefore fignified his Defire to depart, without putting a further Hand to the finishing of the Peace with the Venetians. Then, after kiffing the Pope's Feet, according to Custom, he set out the same Day, which Bishop of was the fifteenth after his Arrival at Bo-Goritz logna, for Modena, the Pope sending in leave Bovain to recal him as foon as he was gone without out of the City. From Modena he directed Success. his Journey to Milan, complaining of the

^{*} As foon as the Bishop of Goritz began to speak of Ferrara, the Pope answered he would make no Alteration but would sooner throw away the Popedom, and his own Life after it, than debate on that Subject. Buonac.

A. D. Pope for many Reasons, and particularly that while there was, on account of his Coming into Italy, in a manner, a Sufpension of Arms, he had with all Secresy fent the Bishop of Vintimiglia, Son of the late Cardinal Pagolo Fregofo, to disturb the State of Genoa. But the French, having Intelligence of his Coming, caused him to be apprehended as he went in Difguise through the Monferrat, from whence he was conducted to Milan, where he made a full Discovery of the Causes and Intentions of his Journey.

from Bologna, follicited the Aragonese Ambaffadors, who to all Appearance took great Pains to effect an universal Peace, and feemed to be very forry for the Inflexibility of the Pope, to procure the Return of the Three Hundred Spanish Lances into the Kingdom of Naples; to which and of the they readily consented. Hence every one was furprifed that at a Time when a Council was in Agitation, and it was expected that the powerful Armies of the French and Germans, with the two Kings at their Heads,

THE Bishop of Goritz, at his Departure

Myfterious Conduct of the Pope King of Aragon.

203 A. D.

Heads, would overspread Italy, the Pontiff, who was already at Enmity with the King of France, should forfeit the Good-will of Cæfar, and deprive himself of the Affistance of the Catholic King. Some doubted that in this, as well as in many other Cases, the Defigns of the King of Aragon were different from what they appeared in outward Show, and that his Ambassadors acted one Part in public, and another Part in fecret with the Pontiff. For that Prince having provoked the King of France by new Offences, and fo revived the Memory of old Injuries, feemed to have Reason to fear that Peace between all the other Parties would create very great Danger to himfelf; the Venetians remaining much weakened in Dominion, Money and Reputation, and the King of the Romans having but little Power in Italy, and being more fickle, inconstant, and prodigal than ever. Others reasoning with more Subtilty interpreted the Matter otherwise, imagining that the Pope might perhaps be confident that the King of Aragon, though he had protested that he would abandon him, and had recalled his Troops, when he confidered

A. D. confidered how much his Depression would prejudice his own Interest, would always take the greater Care to support him.

THE Departure of the Bishop of Goritz confounded the Hopes of Peace, though the Pope four Days afterwards sent after him the Bishop of Moravia, Ambassador from the King of Scotland, refident at his Court, in order to treat of an Agreement with the King of France. The Causes therefore of retarding the Operations of War under Gianjacopo da Trivulzio being now removed, that General was inspired with a laudable Ambition of performing some Exploit worthy of his Valour and antient Renown, by which he could demonstrate to the King how vastly prejudicial it must be to his Affairs to commit the Management of Wars, an Office, above all other human Transactions, the most laborious. and most difficult, and that requires the greatest Prudence and Experience, not to the Direction of Veteran Commanders, but of unexperienced Youths, of whose Qualifications there are no Testimonials. and who have nothing to recommend them but

but courtly Favour. The Grison Infantry were not yet arrived, because the General of Normandy, who had the Care of the Expeditions, hoping that the Peace would go forward, and willing to ingratiate himself with the King by faving Expences, had delayed to fend Orders for Levies. - Trivulzio, however, though disappointed of the Grisons, pursuant to his first Resolution, in the Beginning of May, with an Army of Twelve Hundred Lances and Seven Thousand Foot, laid Siege to Concordia, and took it the same Day. For the In-of the habitants of the Place, being terrified at the French Noise and Execution of the Artillery, sent Army. out Deputies to treat about a Surrendry, which giving Occasion to the Garrison to be negligent of their Guard, the Befiegers scaled the Walls, and got into the Town, and plundered it. After the Reduction of Concordia, the General, to avoid giving Occasion to his Rivals to reproach him with regarding his own Interest more than that of the King, leaving Mirandola behind him, directed his March to Buonporto, a Village feated on the River Panaro, in order to approach so near the Enemy,

A. D. Enemy, as that, by intercepting their Convoys of Provisions, he might constrain them to dislodge, and give him an Opportunity to engage them out of the Strength of their Entrenchments. When he was entered the Modenese, and encamped at the Village of Cavezzo, having Advice that Gian Pagol Manfrone with Three Hundred Venetian light Horse lay at Massa near Finale, he detached thither Gaston de Foix, with Three Hundred Foot and Five Hundred Horse. As soon as Gian Pagolo had Notice of their Coming, he drew up his Men in Order upon a Bridge. But they did not answer the Boldness and Animosity of their Leader, for he was abandoned by them, and, with some few others that stood by him, taken Prisoner. After this the Army approached Buonporto, Trivulzio defigning to lay a Bridge where a Canal dug from the Panaro above Modena joins with the River. But the Enemy to prevent his Passage came and posted themfelves fo near him, that the Armies cannonaded each other, and Perault, a Spanish Captain in the Ecclesiastic Army, was killed by a Cannon Ball, as we was patrolling

trolling along the Bank of the River. The A. D. Banks being very high in that Place, it was eafy for the Enemy to hinder the Paffing of the River, and therefore Trivulzio changed his Defign, and laid a Bridge a Mile higher, over the Canal, which he passed, and directed his March towards the City of Modena, taking his Rout along the Bank of the Panaro in Search of the most commodious Place for laying a Bridge, and always in View of the Horse and Foot of the Enemy, who were encamped at Castel Franco, on the Roman Road in a Place furrounded with Dikes and Waters. Trivulzio in his Way passed over the Bridge of Fossalto, two Miles from Modena, and then turning on the right Hand towards the Mantouan passed the Panaro without Obstruction at a Ford, the River at that Place having a wide Channel and no Banks. Having paffed the River he encamped at a Place called the Ghiara di Panaro, three Miles distant from the Ecclefiaftic Army. The next Day he purfued his March towards Piumaccio, being supplied with Provisions, by Consent of Vitfrust, from the Modenese. On the same

Day

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A. D. Day the Ecclefiastic Army, not daring to make any Opposition in the open Field, and thinking it necessary to approach towards Bologna, for preventing any Commotion in that City, confidering that the Bentivogli attended the French Army, encamped at the Bridge of Casalecchio, three Miles above Bologna. At this Place, in the Days of our Great Grandfathers, Giovan Galeazzo Visconte, a very powerful Duke of Milan, and much superior in Strength to his Enemies, obtained a fignal Victory over the Florentines, Bolognese, and others their Confederates. It is a very fecure Situation for a Camp, lying between the River Reno and the Canal, and, having the Mountain behind it, preserves Bologna from being deprived of the Benefit of the Canal, which is cut from the River, and passes through that City. Castel Franco furrendered the next Day to Trivulzio, who, after he had stopped three Days in his Camp at Piumaccio, on account of the Rains, and to provide himself with Victuals, which began to be scarce, came and encamped on the high Road between Samoggia and Castel Franco. Here he stood

in Suspense as to his further Operations, A. D. many Difficulties presenting themselves to obstruct the Execution of whatever Defigns he could form. For he knew it was in vain to attack Bologna, if the People did not make a Tumult, and, if he should approach the Place in hopes of a popular Commotion, he doubted he should be constrained suddenly to retire, as Chaumont had done before, with Difgrace. It would be more imprudent and dangerous to go and attack the Enemies entrenched in fo strong a Camp. To approach Bologna on the lower Part of the Town, could answer no other View than give him a doubtful Hope of inducing the Enemy, from an Apprehension of an Invasion of Romagna, to put themselves in Motion, and by that Means afford an Opportunity for an Engagement, and for the Bolognese to raise a Tumult. At last, however, it was refolved to try whether any Advantage could be gained from the general Disposition of the Citizens, or from the particular Correspondences of the Bentivogli. The Army therefore, the Vanguard led by Teodoro da Trivulzio, the main Battle by . VOL. V. the

the General himself, and the Rearguard by Gaston de Foix, advanced and took Post at the Bridge of Laino, a place on the main Road, at the Distance of five Miles from Bologna, and memorable for the Conference between Lepidus, Mark Antony, and Octavius, in which, as Historians relate, under the Name of a Triumvirate, they established a Tyranny at Rome, together with that never enough detested Proscription*.

THE Pope was not at this Time in Bologna; for, after the Departure of the Bishop of Goritz, sometimes Boldness, sometimes Fear getting the Ascendant in his Temper, as soon as he was informed that Trivulzio had taken the Field, though the Spanish Lances had lest him, he set out from Bologna for the Army, with a Design to induce the Generals, by his Presence, to come to a Battle with the Enemy, to which he had not been able to dispose them neither by Letters nor Messages. He lest Bologna with a Design to lodge the first Night at Cento, but was obliged to

* See Appian. de Bel. Civil. Lib. 3. and Plutarch in the Life of Mark Antony.

stop short at the Town of Pieve, because A. D. a Thousand of his Foot had entered Cento, 1511. and were resolved not to quit that Place before they had received their Pay, which perhaps raifed his Indignation; and on this account, or else because he considered the Danger more nearly, he returned the next Day to Bologna, where, his Fears increasing with the Approach of Trivulzio, he refolved to betake himself to Ravenna. But first he summoned an Assembly of the Magistracy of Forty, and in a Speech reminded them how by the Favour of the Apostolic See, and by his own Care and Fatigue, they had been freed from the Yoke of a most oppressive Tyranny, and had obtained their Liberty, together with many Exemptions and Privileges, and had received from him many very confiderable Favours both in public and private, and were likely to receive more Marks of his Benevolence every Day: By which Means, whereas before they laboured under a most Pope's Speech to fevere Bondage, scorned and trampled un- the Boloder Foot by Tyrants, and were of no Esteem gnese. or Reputation among the other Cities of Italy, they were now exalted to Honours and Riches,

A. D. Riches, their City was full of Artificers and Merchants, and some of their own Citizens were preferred to the highest Places; they were valued and esteemed every where, were at their own Liberty, and entire Masters of Bologna and all its Territory; for they chose their own Magistrates, and shared the Places of Honour among themselves, and the public Revenues were distributed in their own City. The Church had little more than the Name of Sovereignty, and the Right of maintaining among them, and that only as a Mark of its Superiority, a Legate or Governor, who without their Concurrence could come to no Resolution in Affairs of Importance, in which, even when they referred to his Arbitration, he always confulted their Opinion and Pleasure. He asfured them that if, in confideration of these Benefits, and of the happy State in which they were fituated, and were disposed to defend their own Liberty, he would take the same Care to affist and support them, as he would, in a like Case, to affist and defend Rome. He was necessitated, he faid, by the weighty Concerns of the prefent

fent Juncture to depart for Ravenna, but A. D. he had not forgot, nor intended by this Step to forget, to provide for the Safety of Bologna: For which End he had given Orders that the Venetian Forces, under the Command of Andrea Gritti, on the other Side the Po, should march to join his own Army; for which Intent they were now laying a Bridge at Sermidi: That these Provisions were more than sufficient for their Defence, but not to fet his Mind at Rest before he had also delivered them from the Troubles of War: And therefore, to oblige the French to march back with their Forces to defend their own Dominions, a Body of Ten Thousand Swiss was already prepared to make a Defcent into the State of Milan; and, that they might the more speedily put themselves in Motion, he had remitted to Venice Twenty Thousand Ducats, and the Venetians had ordered them the like Sum. But if they could still think themselves happier in returning under the Slavery of the Bentivogli, than to enjoy the Sweets of Ecclefiaftic Liberty, he intreated them freely to declare their Intentions, because by bad them

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214 A. D. them he would regulate his Measures; but he would have them remember that if they did resolve to defend themselves, the Time was come in which they had a fair Opportunity to shew their Generosity, and to lay an eternal Obligation on the Apostolic See, himself, and all future Popes.

gnese.

To this Harangue of the Pope, which, Answer of according to his Manner, was rather vethe Bolo-hement than eloquent, after it had been confidered in common Council, the Prefident of the Government made Answer in the Name of all the rest, in the Bolognese bombastic Style, magnifying their Loyalty, their Gratitude for the Benefits they had received from him, and their unlimited Devotion to his Interest. They were fenfible, he faid, of their happy Situation, and how vastly the Riches and Splendor of their City were augmented by the Expulsion of the Tyrants: And whereas before their Lives and Fortunes were in Subjection to the arbitrary Will of others, they could now every one fit down in Security of all they possessed, and enjoy the Bleffings of their Country in Peace. They had

A D.

had now a Share in the Government, a Share in the Revenues; and there was not. one among them who had not in particular received of His Holiness many Favours and Honours. They faw renewed in their City the Dignity of the Cardinalship, they faw conferred on their Citizens many Prelacies, and many of the principal Offices of the Court of Rome. For these innumerable Favours, and most fingular Benefits, they were disposed to spend all their Fortunes, to expose to Danger the Honour and Safety of their Wives and Children, and to lose their own Lives, before they would revolt from his Obedience, and from the Apostolic See. His Holiness might therefore go in Peace, joyful and happy, without any Fear or Concern about the Affairs of Bologna; for he should sooner hear that their whole Canal ran with the Blood of the Bolognese, than that their City invoked any other Name, or obeyed any other Lord, than Pope Julius.

This fair Speech found more Credit than Pope it deserved with the Pope, who, leaving leaves the Cardinal of Pavia in Bologna, set out Bologna

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he was attended by the Spanish Lances, who were on their Return to Naples, but taking the longer Way about by Forli for fear of the Duke of Ferrara.

TRIVULZIO being advanced to the Bridge of Laino, the City of Bologna was all in an Uproar, the Minds of the People being variously agitated according to their different Affections and Interests. Many, accustomed to a licentious Life under a Tyranny, and to maintain themselves with the Money and Effects of their Neighbours, hated the Ecclesiastic Government, and ardently wished the Return of the Bentivogli. Others quite dejected, and in Despair by the Losses they had sustained, and feared to fustain on seeing two such Armies enter on their Estates, and at a Time when Harvest was near, longed for any Change, whatever it might be, that would deliver them from those Evils. Others again being under Apprehensions that by means of the Tumult which might arise among the People, or by the pro-

sperous Success of the French, whose unruly

Efforts,

Efforts, when they came the first Time, under Chaumont, to Bologna, they had still before their Eyes, the City would be plundered, preferred a Deliverance from that Danger before any Government or Dominion whatsoever. And a few, who had shewed themselves Enemies to the Bentivogli, favoured, though more in their Hearts than in their Actions, the Dominion of the Church. Thus all the Inhabitants being in Arms, either out of a Defire of Change, or for their own Safety and Security, and every Place full of Fear and Terror, the Cardinal of Pavia, the Legate of Bologna, had neither Courage nor Prudence adapted to fo dangerous a Juncture. For having in that great and populous City no more than Two Hundred light Horse and one Thousand Foot, and the Misunderstanding between him and the Duke of Urbino, who was with the Army at Cafalecchio, prevailing more than ever*, he had

^{*} Giovio, in his Elogy of Francesco Alidoisio, Cardinal of Pavia, says, that the Cause of the Disagreement between the Cardinal and the Duke was the Pope's refusing to grant the Cardinal the Lordship of Imola, which he coveted, and which moved him to enter into a treasonable Correspondence with the French, in hopes to obtain his

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A. D. by Chance or Destiny, elected fifteen Captains out of the Number of Citizens, to whom, together with their Companies and the People, he had committed the Guard of the Town and of the Gates. But as he wanted Prudence in making his Choice, the greater Part of these Captains were in the Interest of the Bentivogli. Among them was one Lorenzo di gli Ariofti, who had before been imprisoned and tortured in Rome on Suspicion of conspiring with the Bentivogli, and was for a long time afterwards confined in Castel Sant' Angelo. These Leaders, as soon as they were invested with their new Authority, and had Arms in their Hands, began to hold private Conferences and Meetings, and to disperse scandalous Reports among the People. And the Legate, beginning too late to blame himself for his Imprudence, in order to avoid the Danger in which he had involved himself, feigned that he was follicited by the Duke of Urbino, and other Com-

Ends by their Assistance. Hence, by treacherous Artifices, he was continually raising Obstacles to the Duke in the Management of the War, by delaying the Payments, and retarding the necessary Provisions, in order to facilitate the Success of the French.

Commanders to repair to the Army with A. D. those new raised Companies. But their Leaders answered that they were resolved not to abandon the Guard of the Town. He then attempted to introduce within the Walls Ramazotto with his Regiment of a Thousand Foot; but the People would not fuffer him to enter their Gates. Cardinal, then having loft all Courage, and being conscious that his Government was had in utter Detestation by the People, and that he had many Enemies among the Nobleffe, because he had not long before, as he faid by Orders from the Pope, affuming a royal Power, beheaded three honourable Citizens*, as foon as it was Night, difguifed himfelf, and, through a private Passage from the Palace, retired into the Citadel, and with fo much Precipitation that he forgot to take his Money and Jewels with him. He immediately gave Orders to have them brought, and as foon as he had received them fet out from the

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Gate

^{*} Giowio says the Pope gave no such Orders; and surther informs us that there were four beheaded, of whom he gives us the Names, and says they were very innocent Persons.

Legate

A. D. Gate called il Soccorfo for Imola, attended by Guido Vaina, who had married his Sifter, and commanded his Horseguards, flies from with a Hundred Horse; and he was fol-Bologna. lowed not long after by Ottaviano Fregofo, who left the Citadel with no other Attendance than a Guide. As foon as it was known that the Legate was fled, the whole City was in a Tumult, and began every where to cry up the Name of the People*. Lorenzo di gli Ariosti, and Francesco Rinucci, who was one of the fifteen Captains, and in the Interest of the Bentivogli, would not lose so fair an Opportunity, but, followed by many of the same Faction, ran to the Gates of San Felice and Lame that lay most commodious for the French Camp, and broke them open with Bars and Axes; and being possessed of them sent without Delay to call the Bentivogli, who being furnished by Trivulzio with a good Number of French Horse, in order to avoid the direct Road by the Bridge of Reno, which Gate

^{*} Name is well known to fignify Power or Authority, fo that to cry up the Name of the People is the same as to cry out Liberty, or an Abolition of all Tyranny, and and Establishment of a popular Government, under which the People enjoy the greatest Liberties.

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was guarded by Rafaello de' Pazzi, one of A. D. the Ecclesiastic Officers, passed the River lower down, and presenting themselves before the Gate of Lame were immediately introduced into the City.

THE Rebellion of Bologna was fol-Flight of lowed by the Flight of the Army; for the Ecclethe Duke of Urbino, whose Troops ex-Venetian tended themselves from the Bridge of Armies. Cafalecchio to the Gate called Siragoza, having Notice, as it is supposed, of the Flight of the Legate, and of the Infurrection of the People, decamped in all Haste at the third Hour of the Night, with all his Army, except those who were appointed to guard the Camp, and posted on that Part of the River towards the French, to whom he gave no Notice of his Departure, leaving most Part of his Tents standing. But his Motion being perceived, the Bentivogli, who were in the City, sent immediate Advice of it to Trivulzio, and ordered out of the Town Part of the People to harass him in his March. The Townsmen in conjunction with the Peasants, who descended from

A. D. all Parts, with horrible Cries and Shouts fell upon the Camp which extended itself along the Walls of the City, and seized upon the Artillery, Ammunition, and a great Quantity of Baggage; but the French coming up foon after wrested the greatest Part of the Plunder out of their Hands. Teodoro da Trivulzi with the Vanguard was now advanced to the Bridge of Reno, where Rafaello de' Pazzi valiantly fighting stopped them for some time, but at last, being too weak to withstand so great a Superiority of Number, was taken Prifoner, having, as every one acknowledged, by his stout Resistance, given the Troops of the Church a fair Opportunity to fave themselves. But the Forces of the Venetians, and with them Ramazotto, who was posted on the highest Eminence of St. Luca, not having timely Notice of the Flight of the Duke of Urbino, took the Way of the Mountains to make their Escape, by which, tho' with very considerable Loss, they arrived at last in Romagna. In this Victory, which was obtained without Fighting, were taken fifteen Pieces of heavy Cannon; and many smaller ones.

ones, partly belonging to the Pope, partly A. D. to the Venetians; the Doge's own Standard 1511. was taken, with feveral other Colours, great Part of the Baggage of the Ecclefiaftics, and almost all that of the Venetians; some Men at Arms of the Troops of the Church were stripped, but of the Venetians above One Hundred and Fifty; almost all the Infantry of both Armies were dispersed, and Orsino da Magnano, Giulio Manfrone, and many other Officers of less Note were taken Prisoners. Bologna no Person was killed, nor Violence offered to any one either of the Nobleffe or Commonalty; and none were made Prisoners but the Bishop of Chiusi, with a confiderable Number of Prelates, Secretaries and other Officers, Affiftants to the Cardinal, who had remained in the Palace which was the Residence of the Legate, and had not the least Notice of his Departure. The fame Night and the next Day the Populace fell upon a Statue of the Pope in Brass, and dragged it about the great Square with much Scorn and Derision; which they did either at the Instigation of some of the Partisans of the Bentivogli;

of the Fatigues and Losses occasioned by the Wars, as they are naturally ungrateful, and Lovers of Novelties, had in reality conceived a Hatred against the Name and Memory of the Person who had been the Author of the Freedom and Happiness of their Country.

Motions of Tri-

THE next Day, which was the 22d of May, Trivulzio continued in the same Quarters, and the Day following he decamped, and, leaving Bologna behind him, marched to the River Lidice, and afterwards encamped at Castel San Piero, a Town fituated on the Extremity of the Bolognese Territory, where he intended to wait that he might know the Defigns of the King of France; whether he was to march forwards and invade the Territories of the Pope, or whether the King, contenting himself with having secured Ferrara, and deprived the Church of Bologna, which it had acquired by his Means, would have him put a Stop to the Course of his Victory. Wherefore when Giovanni da Saffatello, an Officer of the Pope, who expelled

expelled the Ghibellins from Imola, and, as A. D. the Head of the Geulfs was in a manner absolute in that City, offered to put that Place into his Hands, he would not accept of it before he had received the King's Answer.

THE Citadel of Bologna, in which was Vitello the Bishop, was not yet reduced: Citadelof It was large and strong, but provided as Bologna the Fortresses of the Church usually are; furrendered for the Garrison confisted only of a few and de-Foot, who were but ill stored with Victuals, molished. and had scarce any Ammunition. During the Siege Vitfrust came one Night from Modena into the Place, and follicited the Bishop by large Promises to surrender it to Cæsar. But that Prelate, on the fifth Day of the Siege, capitulated, and furrendered the Citadel to the Bolognese, on Condition of Safety to the Lives and Effects of all that were in it, and of a Bond by which they were obliged to pay him Three Thousand Ducats within a prefixed Time. As foon as that Fortress was evacuated the People ran with one Confent to demolish it; to which they were instigated VOL. V. P

A. D. instigated by the Bentivogli, not so much with a Defign to conciliate the Affections of the Citizens, as out of a Jealoufy that the King of France defigned to have it in his Possession, since it had been the Opinion of fome of his General Officers that it ought to be demanded; but Trivulzio judging it was not for the King's Interest to have it believed that he intended to make himself Master of Bologna, was of another Opinion. The Duke of Ferrara took Occasion from this Victory to recover not only Cento and Pieve, but also Cotignuola, Lugo, and the other Towns of Romagna, and at the fame time chased away from Carpi Alberto Pio, who had before enjoyed that Place in common with the Duke.

The Pope was extremely mortified, and with very good Reason, at the Loss of Bologna; and he tormented himself not only for the Revolt of the principal and most important City, except Rome, in the whole Ecclesiastic State, and that he seemed to be deprived of that Glory with which

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he was magnified by the Public, and much more in his own Conceit for the Acquisition of it, but also with the dreadful Apprehensions that the conquering Army would purfue its Victory, fince he knew himself incapable of making Resistance. That he might, however, remove all Occasions that might invite the Enemy to advance any farther, he requested that the Remainders of the Venetian Army, which were already recalled by the Senate, might embark at the Port of Cesena; and, for the same Reason, that Twenty Thousand Ducats, which he had remitted to Venice, for putting the Swiss in Motion, and were still reposited in that City, might be returned. He appointed also that the Cardinal of Nantes, a Breton by Nation, should, as it were of his own Motion, invite Trivulzio to treat of a Peace, by shewing him that now he had a fair Opportunity. But that Commander answered that such a general Demand was of no Signification, but that it was necessary to descend expresly to Particulars: That the King, when he defired Peace, had proposed the Conditions; that now it was the Pope's Turn to

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of his Affairs that it belonged to him to defire it. The Pope proceeded after this Manner more to avoid the present Danger, than out of a real and hearty Disposition to Peace; Fear, Obstinacy, Enmity and Indignation, all at once combating together in his Breast.

Ar the fame time happened a most difmal Accident, which redoubled the Pope's Grief. Many were the Accusations brought against the Cardinal of Pavia, fome charging him with Treachery, others with Cowardice and others with Imprudence. The Cardinal was come to Ravenna of his own accord to justify his Conduct, and as foon as he arrived fent Notice of his Coming to His Holiness, requesting he would appoint him a Time for an Audience. The Pope, who dearly loved him, was overjoyed, and gave him an Invitation to dine with him. he was going to the Palace, attended by Guido Vaina and his Horfe Guards, the Duke of Urbino, prompted by his inveterate Hatred, and inflamed with Rage because

it was the Cardinal's Fault, as he faid, that the Rebellion happened in Bologna, and the Flight of the Army in confequence of it, fet out to meet him with a few Attendants, and entering among his Guards, who gave him Way out of Respect, made up to him and killed him with his own Hands by stabbing him with a Dagger. The Cardinal of His great Dignity as a Cardinal ought per-Revia haps to have preferved his Person inviolable, killed by but, with Regard to his infinite and enor- of Urbino. mous Vices, he deserved the worst of Punishments. The News of his Death being immediately carried to the Pope, he burst into Cries that reached the very Heavens, making most doleful Lamentations, and bewailing beyond measure the Loss of a Cardinal who was so dear to him, and much the more because the Dignity of the Cardinalship was, in an unparallelled Manner, violated before his Eyes, and by his own Nephew; a Fact which gave him the more Concern, as he professed himself to be more than commonly zealous for the Preservation and Promotion of the Ecclefiaftic Authority *.

THE The Duke of Urbino was just come out of the Pope's Chamber, where he had been to clear himfelf from the Calumnies 230 A. D.

THE Pope, unable to bear his Grief, or bridle his Fury, fet out the same Day from Ravenna on his Return to Rome. And to crown those infinite and intolerable Calamities, which at the same time furrounded him on all Sides, he was hardly arrived at Rimini, when he received Notice that Bills had been hung up in the public Places at Modena, Bologna, and many other Cities, advertifing the Convocation of a General Council, with a Citation for himself to appear in Person at it. For the Bishop of Goritz, though he had left Modena, travelled but flowly for fome Days, in Expectation of the Arrival of the Scotch Ambassador, who was returned to Bologna, on the Proposals

Calumnies cast upon him by the Cardinal, who had charged him with the Loss of Bologna as owing to his Fault. The Pope would not hear him, but rudely thrust him out of the Room. Hence the Duke, burning with Rage against the Cardinal, the Author of so great an Injury, and meeting him in the Street, gave him several Thrusts (Buonacorsis says sive) with his Sword, and his Attendants taking him upon a Mule carried him to a House, where he died soon after. Bembo. Gradinica writes that the Duke waited for the Cardinal, and seeing him on Horseback called him Traitor, Enemy to the Italian Blood, and stabbed him with a Dagger.

which the Pope himself had made. But 1511. the Ambassador returning at length with very uncertain Answers, the Bishop immediately ordered three Proxies, in the Name of Cæsar, to repair to Milan. These Proxies, in Conjunction with the Cardinals, and the Proxies of the King of France, proclaimed the Council to be held on the first Day of September next, in the City of Pisa, as a Place convenient, by its Situation near the Sea, for the Accommodation of Pisa apthem who were to attend the Council, and for the on account of its Security, because of the Place of Confidence which the King of France re-cil. posed in the Florentines. To this it might be added, that though many other Places were capable of entertaining the Council, they were either not fo commodious, or fuspected, or might, with some Show of Reason, be refused by the Pope. In France it could not with Decency be called, or in any Place that was under Subjection to the King. Constance, one of the Free Towns of Germany, which was proposed by Casar, though illustrious for the Memory P 4 of

^{*} These Cardinals were San Severino, Santa Croce, Cosenza, and San Malo. Buonac.

A. D. of that famous Council, which, by deposing three Persons, who acted as Pontiffs, extirpated the Schism under which the Church had fuffered about forty Years, appeared very incommodious, and was fuspected by both Sides*. Turin was not a safe Place, on account of the Neighbourhood of the Swifs, and of the States of the King of France. Bologna, before it was alienated from the Church, was unfafe for the Cardinals, and fince for the Pope. In making Choice of Pifa Regard was also had in some measure to the Auspiciousness of the Place, in Memory of two Councils there held with prosperous Success. In the first, when almost all the Cardinals had abandoned Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. who contended for the Popedom, Alexander V. was elected Pope. other Council, which was more antient, being held at Pifa about the Year 1136, by Innocent II. one Pietro di Leone, a Roman, and Anti-Pope by the Name of

^{*} The Council of Constance began in 1414, and lasted three Years. The three Popes deposed were John XXIII. before called Baldasarre C scia, Gregory XII. and Benedia XIII. before called Pietro Luna, after which the Council created Pope Martin V.

Anacletus II. was condemned, after he had by a Schism given much Trouble, not 1511. only to Innocent but to all Christendom. The Florentines had before confented that the Council should be held in Pisa at the Request of the King of France, who asfured them that Cafar was as much concerned in the Convocation of a Council as himself, and that the King of Aragon also gave his Confent to it. In this Step the Florentines deserved perhaps more Praise for their Silence, than for their Prudence, or Firmness of Mind. For though they had not Spirit enough to deny the King of France what they were very loth to grant, or had not the Prudence to confider the Difficulties and Dangers that might arise from holding a Council contrary to the Will of the Pope, yet they concealed this Resolution, though made in a Council of above an Hundred and Fifty Citizens, with fuch Secrefy, that it was uncertain to the Cardinals, to whom the King had given Hopes but no Affurances that his Request would be granted; and the Pope had not the least Intimation of it.

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1511.

Pope.

THE Cardinals pretended that they could lawfully call a Council without the Authority of the Pope, on account of the most evident Necessity under which the Church stood of a Reformation, as they faid, not only in its Members, but in the Head itself, that is, in the Person of the Pope, whom they affirmed to be an inveterate Simoniac, of infamous and abandoned Manners, not fit to discharge the Office of a Pontiff, as being the Author of fo many Wars, and notoriously incorrigible, to the universal Scandal of Christianity, for whose Welfare no other Remedy could be provided but the Calling of a Council; and, the Pope being negligent in procuring this Remedy, the Power of convoking a Council was lawfully devolved to them, especially as it was enforced with the Authority of the Emperor elect, and the Consent of the Most Christian King, with the Concurrence of the German and French Clergy. fubjoined that it was not only beneficial, but necessary for the fickly and disordered Body of the Church, to make frequent

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455 A. D.

Use of this Medicine for the Extirpation of A. D. inveterate Abuses, and to provide against 1511. new Errors daily springing up, to clear and interpret Doubts, which constantly arose, and to correct Things which at first were instituted with a good Intent, but were found at particular Times by Experience to be pernicious. For these Reasons the Reverend Fathers in the Council of Constance, for the general Benefit, appointed that perpetually for the future a Council should be held every ten Years. And what other Bridle could be laid on the Popes, to keep them from going aftray? And confidering the great Frailty of human Nature, and the manifold Temptations to which our Life is subject, how could they otherwise stand secure, if a Person entrusted Reasons with fo much Power knew that he should for frenever be called to an Account for his Councils. Actions?

On the other Side many opposed these Reasons, and, adhering more to the Doc-Pope's trine of Divines than to that of the Ca-Authority nonists, afferted that the Power of calling afferted.

Councils resided wholly in the Person of

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the Pontiff, even though he were stained with all manner of Vices, provided he was not suspected of Herefy; and, that to understand the Case otherwise, would be to put it in the Power of a Few (which ought by no means to be admitted) either out of Ambition, or private Enmity, by disguising their corrupt Intentions under false Colours, to disturb on every Pretence the quiet State of the Church. All Medicines are in their own Nature wholesome, but if not administred in due Proportions, or at feafonable Times, become rather Poisons than Medicines. They condemned therefore those who were of different Sentiments, and called this Congregation not a Council, but a Cause of Division from the Unity of the Apostolic See, the Foundation of a Schism in the Church of God, and a Diabolical Conventicle.

The End of the Ninth Book.

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Francesco Guicciardini's

HISTORY

Ravenna. Dechar One French Live

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Ravenna. Decline of the French Affairs
in Italy.

A Christendom were held in Suf-** pense and Expectation, and vastly attentive to the Refolutions of the King of France in consequence of his Victory. For it manifestly appeared to all that he had it in his Power to seize upon Rome, and the whole Ecclefiastic State, the Troops of the Pope being in a manner all diffipated and dispersed, and those of the Venetians in a much worse Condition. And as there were no other Forces in Italy that could withstand the Attacks of the Conqueror, it appeared that the Pope, who had no other Defence than the Majesty of the Pontificate, must in all other Respects lie at the Mercy of Fortune. The King however, being either restrained by the Reverence due to Religion, or afraid Council

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A. D. afraid of drawing upon himself the Refentments of all the Princes if he made any further Progress, resolved not to im-King of prove the Opportunity afforded by his France Victory, but taking his Measures with feeks a Reconcimore Piety perhaps than Policy, ordered liation Gianjacopo da Trivulzio to leave Bologna Pope. in the Power of the Bentivogli, to restore whatever else he had taken belonging to the Church, and to return immediately with the Army into the Dutchy of Milan. This Mildness and Forbearance, which the King exercifed in his Actions, were accompanied with Marks of the greatest Humanity and Condescension in Words. He prohibited all Demonstrations of public Rejoicings throughout his Dominions, and oftentimes declared before Company, that tho' he had not transgressed either against the Apostolic See or against the Pontiff, nor done any thing without Provocation and Necessity, yet in Reverence to that See he was willing to humble himself, and ask Pardon of his Holiness. The King, it feems, persuaded himself that the Pope, being convinced by Experience of the Difficulties that attended the Execution

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of his Projects, and freed from the vain Suspicions and Prejudices he had entertained against him, would now think it his Duty to defire Peace with all his Heart. And indeed the Negotiations for that Purpose had never been totally intermitted; for the Pontiff, even before his Departure from Bologna, had fent to the King the Ambassador of Scotland, whose Business was to continue the Treaty which had been fet on foot, by the Agency of the faid Ambassador, with the Bishop of Goritz. The Bentivogli, in Submission to the King's Authority, had fignified to the Pontiff that they would by no means shew themselves contumacious or Rebels to the Church, but persevere in that Subjection in which their Father had continued fo many Years; and, as a Token of their Obedience, they had fet at liberty the Bishop of Chius, and instated him, according to antient Custom, in the Palace as Apostolical Lieutenant. Www and so? alk Parden of Liettakin

> TRIVULZIO then decamped, and came with his Army before Mirandola, with an Intent to recover that Town, tho' Vitfrust,

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at the Intreaties of Giovan Francesco Pico, A. D. had entered the Place under Colour of keeping possession of it in the Name of Cafar, and representing to Trivulzio that Mirandola was within the Jurisdiction of the Empire, protested against all Attempts to molest it; yet finding at last that his bare Authority was of no Signification, he gave up the Place and departed, having first received of Trivulzio certain Promises which were thought requisite for the Honour of Cæsar, but such as had more of Formality than Substance. Giovan Francesco also left the Town, after obtaining a Pass for himself and all that belonged to him, with their Effects. Trivulzio now finding nothing else to undertake sent Five Hundred Lances, and Thirteen Hundred German Foot under General Jacob to reinforce the Garrison of Verona, and disbanded the rest of the Foot, except Two Thousand Five Hundred Gascons commanded by Molard and Mongiron, which, with the Men at Arms, he distributed into Quarters in the Towns of the Dutchy of Milan.

But

A. D. 1511.

But the Disposition of the Pontiss was no way conformable to the Desires and Hopes of the King of France; for his Holiness resuming his Courage from the Recalling of the King's Army, which seemed the most likely Means to mollisy him, was become the harder and more untractable. And therefore while he was yet at Rimini, afflicted with the Gout, and surrounded with so many Difficulties, he acted as if he was a Conqueror, not Conquered, proposing, by Peace de means of the same Scotch Ambassador,

Terms of Peace de manded by the Pope. queror, not Conquered, proposing, by means of the same Scotch Ambassador, that for the suture the Dutchy of Ferrara should be subject to the same Tribute which it had paid before its Diminution by Pope Alexander: That the Church should keep a Visdomino in Ferrara, as the Venetians had done before; and that Lugo, and the other Towns which Alfonso d'Este possessed in Romagna, should be yielded up to him. Tho' these Conditions appeared very hard to the King, yet so great was his Desire of Peace with the Pontiss, that he answered he was content to agree to almost all these Demands,

THE WARS IN ITALY. 243 mands, provided the Affair might be A. D. transacted with the Consent and Concur-

rence of Casar.

Bur the Pope, who was now returned to Rome, had changed his Mind, his Boldness being augmented not only from his own native Stock of Resolution, but from the Encouragement of the King of Aragon. This Prince, being grown more jealous of the King of France fince his Victory, had on a fudden put a Stop to all those mighty Preparations which he was making for passing in Person into Africa, where he was continually at War with the Moors, and had recalled Pietro Navarra with Three Thousand Spanish Foot, and ordered him for the Kingdom of Naples, at once providing for the Security of his own Dominions, and giving Encouragement to the Pope to be so much the more refractory and averse to a Peace. His Holiness therefore fignified to the King of France that he did not chuse Peace, unless at the same time in his Matters were accommodated between Demands. Cafar and the Venetians; that Alfonso d' Efte, Q 2

reimburse him for his Charges in the War; and that the King did oblige himself not to obstruct the Recovery of Bologna. This City, as in Rebellion against the Church, he had already subjected to the Ecclesiastic Interdict, and had sent Orders to Romagna for Marc' Antonio Colonna and Ramazotto to destroy the standing Corn in the Bolognese; but they had hardly entered the Borders of that Territory when they were attacked by the People, and easily put to Flight.

Cardinal of Achx fet at liberty.

The Pope however, overcome by the earnest Intreaties of the Cardinals, had, at his Return to Rome, consented to set at liberty the Cardinal of Achx, who had till that Time been under Custody in the Castle of St. Angelo, but on condition that he should not stir out of the Palace of the Vatican till all the Prelates and Officers taken in Bologna had obtained their Liberty; and then not to depart out of Rome under the Penalty of Forty Thousand Ducats, for which he was to find proper Security; but afterwards he consented to that

that Cardinal's Return into France, under A. D. the Restriction of the same Penalty from being present at the Council.

THIS Answer of the Pope greatly shocked the King, and so much the more as he had perfuaded himself that his Holiness could not but consent to the Conditions which he himself had proposed. Resolving therefore to prevent him from recovering Bologna, he fent thither Four Hundred Lances, and a few Days after he took that City and the Bentivogli under his Protection, without receiving from them any Obligation to affift him either with Troops or Money, King of And knowing that a strict Union with France Cæsar was more necessary for him than takes Bologna ever, tho' before he was inclined not tounder his furnish him with the Troops which he Protection had promifed by the Treaty made with Goritz, unless he passed in Person into Italy, because it was under that Condition he had agreed to fend them, he now ordered the Number of Troops which had been stipulated to march out of the Dutchy of Milan, for the Ends proposed,

Q 3

under

under the Command of Palisse; for Trivulzio, whom Casar had demanded, refused the Commission.

Vain Projects of Maximilian.

CESAR was by this time come to Inspruck, ardently defirous on one hand of profecuting the War against the Venetians, and on the other distracted in his Mind with a confused Variety of Projects. For he confidered that whatever Progress he could make would in the End appear to be of very little Benefit without the Conquest of Padoua, which required fuch great Forces and Preparations that it was in a manner impossible for him to get them together. Sometimes he was inclined to come to an Agreement with the Venetians, to which the Catholic King earnestly follicited him; now again he was hurried away by his own vain Projects, thinking to go in Person to Rome with an Army, and, indulging his antient Inclination, feize upon the whole State of the Church; promifing himself, that, besides the French Troops, he should be able to lead a mighty Army out of Germany. But from his Difabilities and Disorders,

Diforders, his Executions were no way answerable to his Imaginations; so that promising Day after Day sometimes to come himself in Person, sometimes to fend his Troops, he wasted away the Time without entering on any Enterprise. The King of France therefore thought it very hard that he should be forced to bear all the Burden alone. And, as a faving Scheme, was conformable to Lewis's natural Tenacity, he was eafily fwayed in opposition to the found Advice of many of his Council, who represented to him that if Casar were not powerfully assisted by him, he would in the End join with his Enemies, in which Case, besides his being necessitated to undergo much greater Expences, his own Dominions would be exposed to very great Dangers.

THESE Doubts and Difficulties cooled the Ardor of the Warriors, and repressed the Fury of the temporal Arms; but the spiritual Weapons were brandished with the greater Heat and Animosity, as well on the Side of the Cardinals who were the Authors of the Council, as on the Part of

the

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A. D. the Pontiff, who was wholly intent on fuppressing this Mischief before it made any further Progress. A Council, as was faid before, had been notified and denounced by the Authority of the King of the Romans, and of the King of France, with the Aid and Approbation of the Cardinals of Santa Croce, San Malo, Bayeux, and Cosenza, and with the manifest Confent also of the Cardinal of San Severino, the Agents of the two Kings fuccessively affifting at their Debates and Resolutions*. These five Cardinals, the Authors of this pernicious Measure, to give the greater Authority to their Declaration, had added to it the Names of other Cardinals, of whom Albret, a French Cardinal, because he would not disobey the Commandment of his King, though unwillingly, gave his Confent; but among others nominated by them, Cardinal Adriano, and the Cardinal of Finale, openly protested that it was not done by their Order, nor with their Approbation. Since then no more than fix

* The Intimation of this Council was affixed at the Doors of the Churches of Parma, Piacenza, and Rimini, none being found resolute enough, for any Reward, to deliver it into the Pope's Hands. Bembo.

fix Cardinals were concerned in the Affair, A. D. the Pontiff hoping that he could induce, them voluntarily to defift from fo mad an Undertaking, was continually treating with them, offering them his Pardon for past Offences, and fuch Security as should not leave them the least Reason for apprehending any Molestation; to which the Cardinals, out of Diffimulation, pretended to hearken. This gentle Method, however, did not restrain his Holiness from using more powerful Remedies; and therefore, by the Advice, as it was faid, of Antonio del Monte a San Sovino, one of the Cardinals of the last Creation at Ravenna, being wiling to clear himself from the Charge of Negligence, he proclaimed a general Council to be held in the Church of San Giovanni Laterano at the City of Rome, on Popelu the first Day of May next enfuing*. Bygeral this Proclamation he pretended that he had diffolved the Council convoked by the Cardinals, and that the Power and Authority of the whole College was juridically transferred

Popefum-

* The Bull for notifying a general Council was expedited about the End of July, 1511, and foon after published and notified to the Christian Princes. Buonac.

transferred to the Council summoned by A. D. 1511. himself. The Cardinals, however, allowing that this Pretence would have held good in the Beginning, afferted that, fince they had prevented him, the Council called and notified by themselves ought to take Place.

THE Pontiff putting great Trust in the Merits of his Cause, and despairing of being able to reconcile the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who, out of an ambitious Defire to be Pontiff, had been in a great measure the Author of this Disturbance, or the Cardi-Pope pub. nals of San Malo and Cofenza, for of the rest he had not yet lost all Hopes of reducing them under his Obedience, published against these three Cardinals a Monitory, in which he enjoined them, under the Penalty of being deprived of the Dignity of the Cardinalship, and of all their Ecclefiastical Benefices, to appear before him within fixty-five Days. And the more eafily to dispose them to obey the Monitory, the College of Cardinals fent to them an Auditor of the Rota, to invite them, and intreat them to lay afide

blifhes a Monitory against SchifmaticCar. dinals.

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afide all private Contentions, and return to a Union with the Church, offering to grant them whatever Security they could defire.

THE Pope at the same time, either from a Distrust and Irresolution of Mind, Pope's or some other Motive, was constantly at-double tentive to a Negotiation of Peace with dealing. the King of France, which was managed by the Ambassadors of the King at the Court of Rome, and by the Scotch Ambaffador and the Bishop of Tivoli, the Apostolic Nuncio, at the King's Court. On the other Side he treated with the King of Aragon and the Venetians, of entering into a new Confederacy against the the French.

AT the fame time he procured the Restitution of Monte Pulciano to the Florentines, not out of Benevolence to that Republic, but because he was apprehensive that the Truce which the Florentines had made with the Senefe being expired, they would call the French Troops into Tuscany to help them in recovering that Town.

For

For though the Pope had opposed the Re-A. D. covery of Monte Pulciano by the Republic of Florence, and to prevent it had fent to Siena, Giovanni Vitelli with an Hundred Men at Arms hired by himself and the Senese, and Guido Vaina with an Hundred light Horse, yet being afterwards better advised, and confidering that the more he augmented the Difficulties that obstructed the Recovery of that Place, the more he should incite the Florentines to call in foreign Affistance, he resolved, in order to prevent the King of France from taking Occasion to send a Body of Troops into a Place fo near to Rome, to obviate the Danger by a contrary Proceeding, with the Confent also of Pandolfo Petrucci, who was under the same Apprehensions, which were artfully promoted by the Florentines. Much Time was spent in this Negotiation, for it often happens that Affairs of leffer Moment are involved in as great Difficulties and Intricacies as those of the greatest Importance. Pandolfo, in order to avoid the Hatred of the Senefe, chose to proceed in fuch a Manner as to make it appear that there was no other Remedy to secure his Country

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Country against a War, and that this was the only Way to preserve the Friendship of the Pontiff. It was the Defire of his Holiness and Pandolfo that the Florentines and Senefe should at the same time enter into a Confederacy for the Defence of their States; and on the other Hand they were apprehensive that the People of Monte Pulciano getting Notice of this Treaty would prevent them, by furrendering themselves voluntarily to the Florentines in order to obtain their Favour; and that the Republic of Florence, on Discovery of their Intentions, would shew a Reluctancy to fuch an Alliance. Giovanni Vitello was ordered to take up his Quarters in Monte Pulciano, and the Pope fent thither Jacopo Simonetta, Auditor of the Rota, who a few Years after was made a Cardinal, in order to accommodate the Affair. Thus it happened at last that a League was made between the Florentines and Senese Monte for Twenty-five Years, and at the same Pulciano restored time Monte Pulciano, by the Mediation of to the Fla-Simonetta, being confirmed in the Posses-rentines. fion of its antient Privileges and Exemptions,

returned

THE HISTORY OF

returned under the Dominion of the Flo-A. D. rentines.

THE military Operations between Cafar and the Venetians had, for some Months, been managed with less Vigour than usual; for the Germans not abounding in of the War Men, and deficient in Money, thought they did mighty Service in preferving Verona; and the Venetian Army, not being strong enough to undertake the Siege of that City, lay encamped between Soave and Lunigo, whence a Party of them one Night made an Excursion, and burnt up a great Part of the standing Harvest of the Veronese on both Sides of the Adice; but they were attacked in their Retreat, and lost Three Hundred Foot; yet on Advice of the Approach of la Palisse to Verona with Twelve Hundred Lances and Eight Thousand Foot, the Venetians retired towards Vicenza and Lignago, and posted themselves very advantageously, and as it were in an Island by Means of certain Waters, and fome Cuts which they had made in the Banks. In this Encampment they did not continue many Days; for la Palisse being

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being arrived with Part of his Forces at Verona would not wait for the rest, but marched out, accompanied by the Germans towards the Enemy, who hastily quitting their strong Camp retired in manner of a Flight to Lunigo, and afterwards, under the fame Terror, abandoning Vicenza and all the other Towns, with the Polesine of Rovigo, a Prey sometimes to the Venetians, fometimes to the Duke of Ferrara, diffributed themselves into Padoua and Trevigi. For the Defence of these Cities many young Noblemen were arrived there from Venice, in the same manner as they had before done at Padoua*. The French and German Army facked Lunigo, and Vicenza furrendering to them became as usual the miserable Prey of the strongest in the Field.

But all Efforts, and Acquisitions were of little Importance, with regard to a Decision of the War, as long as the Venetians preserved Padoua and Trevigi; for by the Conveniency

^{*} To Padoua were fent twenty Noblemen, and ten to Trewigi, each attended by ten Perfons on Foot; and the Commons fent the like Number to each Town, every one attended by three Foot for the Guard of the Gates. Bembo.

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Conveniency of these Cities, as soon as the French Auxiliaries left the Germans, they eafily recovered the Places they had loft. The Army therefore, after this Progress, halted several Days at Ponte a Barberano, waiting for the Coming or Determination of Cafar. That Prince was arrived between Trent and Rovere, and being at once bufily employedo according to his Custom, in the Chace of wild Beasts, and in fending Recruits to his Army, promised to be at Montagnana, purposing sometimes to undertake the Siege of Padoua, sometimes that of Trevigi, and then again to go and feize upon Rome. But as his fickle and inconstant Temper, in Conjunction with his extreme Poverty, were the Occafion of many Difficulties in all his Enterprifes, he would have found himself noless embarrassed in his Roman Expedition than in the Execution of his other Projects. For to go to Rome with fo great a Body of French appeared incompatible with his Security as well as his Dignity; and the Danger of Verona, which might be attacked by the Venetians during his Abfence, would oblige him to leave a strong Garrison in that City. Besides, the King

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of France made a Difficulty of fending his A. D. Troops at so remote a Distance from the Dutchy of Milan, because his Hopes of coming to an Agreement with the Swifs were almost vanished. For, besides the Inclination of that People to comply with the Defires of the Pontiff, the French Ambaffador to the Cantons was acquainted in plain Terms that the Nation of the Swifs could not, without the deepest Concern, bear to see the Ruin of the Venetians, on account of the Conveniencies and Advantages refulting from the Harmony between the two Republics.

But all these grand Projects, and lofty Discourses of Casar produced at last, according to his old Custom, Effects unworthy of his Name. For after he had recruited his Army with Three Hundred German Men at Arms, given Audience on the other Part to the Venetian Ambassadors, with whom he was continually treating, and caused la Palisse to come first to Lungara near Vicenza, and afterwards to Santa Croce, he ordered him to go and take Castel Nuovo, a Pass beneath Scala towards Friuli. VOL. V. R

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Friuli, and twenty Miles from Feltro, in A. D. order to facilitate his Descent on that Side. La Palisse therefore marched to Monte Bellona, ten Miles from Trevigi, where he detached five Hundred Horse and two Thoufand Foot to open the Pass of Castel Nuovo: in which they succeeded, and advanced to Scala. At this Time the Venetian light Horse, which scoured all the Country without Opposition, routed near Marofico about Seven Hundred Foot with a good Number of French and Italian Horse. These Troops, in order to secure their Passage to the Army, were marching from the Vene- Verona to Soave to join Three Hundred French Lances that were come back from La Palisse, and had halted at that Place waiting for his Orders. Though the French and Germans had the better in the Beginning of the Conflict, and Guido Rangone, who commanded the Venetians, was taken Prisoner, yet a Multitude of Peasants

> pouring in to the Affistance of the Troops of the Republic rendered them at last victorious; about Four Hundred of the French Foot being killed, and their Commanders Mongiron and Rochemare taken Prisoners.

French routed by tians.

But

A. D.

Bur now the Measures that had been concerted were profecuted with more and more Coldness and Remissness; wherefore the King of France perceiving that the Preparations of Casar were no way correspondent to his Offers and Promises withdrew himfelf farther from the Confines of Italy, and returned from Dauphine, where he had refided many Days, to Blois. And Cafar who was retired to Trent, with a Resolution never to go any more in Person into the Army, instead of seizing upon all that the Venetians possessed on the Terra Firma, or at least upon Rome and the whole State of the Church, now defigned that the Germans should make an Invasion into Friuli and the Trevisano, not so much with an Intent to diffress the Venetians, as to exact Contributions of Money from the Inhabitants of the Towns to fave themfelves from being plundered. And that his own Forces might meet with no Hindrance, he proposed that the French should advance forwards, and put Two Hundred Lances into Verona, where a Pestilence raged; and as he had formed a Defign to invade R 2

invade Friuli, he was obliged to draw all his Forces out of that City, except those which were appointed to guard the Castles. La Palisse agreed to all these Measures, and being joined by General Aubigni with the Three Hundred Lances that were at Soave, he encamped by the River Piave. The Germans, for the greater Security of Verona, left also Two Hundred Horse at Soave, who being extremely negligent, and without Scouts or Guard, were one Night almost all killed or taken by Four Hundred light Horse and as many Foot of the Venetians.

ALL this Year the War had been profecuted in Friuli, Istria, and the Parts about Triesti and Fiume, with various Success, as usual, by Land, and also by Sea with small Vessels; these unhappy Countries being ravaged by both Parties in their Friuli fub. Turns. After this the German Army entered Friuli, and presented itself before Udine, the Capital of the Province, and the Residence of the Venetian Lieutenancy, who cowardly betaking themselves to Flight the Town immediately furrendered

dued by the Germans.

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to the Germans, as did afterwards, in the fame Career of Success, the whole Country of Friuli, each Town being taxed at a Sum of Money in proportion to its Ability. There remained Gradisca, seated on the River Lisontio, in which was Luigi Mocenigo, Proveditor of Friuli, with Three Hundred Horse, and a good Number of Foot. But a Battery being raised against the Place, and an Assault given, tho' the Besiegers were repulsed, the Town was surrendered at the Importunity of the Soldiers, and the Proveditor remained a Prisoner.

FROM Friuli the Germans returned to join Palisse, who was encamped about five Miles from Trevigi, and after this Conjunction approached that City, which Casar was very importunate with him to besiege. But the General sinding the Town well fortissed on all Sides, and being in want of Pioneers, Ammunition, and other necessary Provisions, he laid aside all Hopes of Success in such an Undertaking. French A few Days after Palisse put himself on Forces rehis March to return into the Dutchy of called.

Milan,

R 3

A. D. Milan by Orders of the King his Master who was more and more apprehensive of the new Confederacies and Movements of the Swiss. The Venetian Stradiotti were continually preffing upon the Rear of the Enemy in their Retreat, and were in Hopes of doing them confiderable Damage, especially in their Passage of the Rivers Brenta and Adice. But they marched through all the Country in Safety, having, before they passed the Brenta, surprised Two Hundred Venetian Horse quartered without Padoua, and taken Pietro da Lunghera their Commander. The Departure of the French General left the Germans in great Perplexity; for as they could not prevail with him to leave Three Hundred more French Lances for the Security of Verona, they were obliged to retire and abandon to the Enemy all the Conquests of their Summer's Campaign. The Venetian Forces therefore, which, fince the Death of Lucio Malvezzo, were commanded by Gian Pagolo Baglione, immediately reco-Venetians vered Vicenza, and afterwards entering Friuli, demolished Cremonsa, and recovered the whole Country except Gradisca, which

Friuli.

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which they attacked in vain. But a few A. D. Days after some Companies of Foot from the County of Tirol made themselves Masters of Cadoro, and plundered Bellona.

Thus ended the Campaign for the present Summer, which produced none but flight and transitory Effects, without Advantage, tho' not without Difgrace to the Name of Cæfar, and raifing the Reputation of the Venetians, who being attacked for these two successive Years by the Armies of Casar and of the King of France, remained Masters at last of the fame Forces, and of the fame Dominions. But the these Events tended directly against Cæfar, they were in effect much more prejudicial to the King of France, because, while he stood perhaps too much in fear of the Prosperity of Caefar, and dust of of the Increase of his Power, or built his the King Measures upon false Foundations, not knowing the Dangers that were now near at Hand, or else his Prudence being blinded by his Avarice, he declined to furnish Cæfar with fuch Affiftance as might give R 4

1511.

Council

of Pifa

him Hopes of obtaining the defired Success; and by this cautious and niggardly Management he gave Occasion to that Prince, and in a manner necessitated him, to liften to those Counsellors who were always perfuading him to break off his Alliance with France, and at the fame time preserve the Venetians in such a State, as to enable them to join with greater Forces in confederacy with those Potentates who defired to humble the Power of the King.

THESE Counsels had such an Effect that it began already to appear, by some Signs, that Cæfar was altering his Sentiments, and particularly as to the Affair of the Council, in which he was perceived to be grown cool, especially since the Publication of the Lateran Council; for he never fent to the Council of Pisa, according to his often repeated Promifes, any German Prelates as Representatives of Germany, nor Deputies to represent his own Person, and affist in his Stead; nor neglected was he in the least incited by the Example of the King of France, who had appointed

four

four and twenty Bishops to go to Pisa in A. D. the common Name, or as Representatives of the Gallican Church, and had ordered all the Prelates of his Kingdom either to go thither in Person, or to send their Proxies. But either because he wanted fome Excuse for his Neglect, or because it was his real Defire, he began to make Instances that, for the greater Conveniency of the German Prelates, and because he intended, as he gave Assurances, to assist in Person, the Council summoned to meet at Pisa should be transferred to Mantoua, Verona, or Trent. This Demand was, for various Reasons, disliked by all the Cardinals except the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who was pleased with it, because he was ardently defirous of ascending to the Pontificate, for which End he had fowed this Difcord, and was in hopes that, by the Favour of Cæfar, in whose Benevolence he reposed great Confidence, he should easily fatisfy his Ambition *.

As

^{*} This Cardinal of Santa Croce was called Bernardino Carrorjale. He was by Nature ambicious beyond Meafure, and greatly indulged his aspiring Hopes from the Crast and Flatteries of Cardinal Sanseverino, who had pro-

As the Cause of the Council was but

Casar ad-weak and lame, and unable to support itdressed by self without the Authority of Cæsar, the contented Cardinal of Sanseverino was, by common Cardinals. Confent, deputed to wait upon his Majesty, and humbly to intreat him to give Orders for putting the Prelates and Proxies in Motion, as had been so often promised, and to engage their Faith that when the Council was once opened at Pifa they would transfer it to what Place foever he himself should chuse, demonstrating that to remove it fooner would be highly prejudicial to the common Caufe, and especially because it was of the last Importance to prevent the Council which had been proclaimed by the Pope. The Cardinal was attended by his Brother Galeazzo, who was to make the fame Instances in the Name of the King of France. The good Fortune of Galeazzo was the Reverse of the ill Fortune of his first Master Lodovice Sforza, for he had been honoured

> promifed him the Popedom, and foothed his Imagination with the pleasing Prospect of arriving at the Height of Glory with the supreme Dignity. Giovio in his Life of Pope Leo X.

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by the King with the Office of Grand A. D. Shield-bearer. But the principal Bufiness on which he was fent was to endeavour to fix the Resolutions of Cæsar, by making him feveral Offers, and propofing new Schemes; for the Inconstancy and Irrefolution of that Prince kept the King in perpetual Suspense and Jealousy, tho' he was at the fame time not without Hopes of concluding a Peace with the Pope. A Negotiation for this Purpose was carried on at Rome under the Management of the Cardinals of Nantes and Strigonia; and in France by the Scotch Bishop, and by the Bishop of Tivoli, and was in such Forwardness that almost all the Conditions were fettled, the Bishop of Tivoli having received full Powers from the Pontiff to bring it to Perfection. But then in the Bishop's Commission were inserted certain Limitations, which gave no fmall Umbrage that the Pope's Intentions did not correspond with his Words, especially as it was known that he was at the same time carrying on a Negotiation with feveral Potentates entirely contrary to this Treaty.

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In this dubious Juncture a sudden Ac-

A. D. 1511.

Pope dangeroufly ill and re

cident that happened to the Pope had like to have put an End to all Negotiations, and extirpated at once all the impending Evils. His Holiness was taken ill on the 17th Day of August, and on the fourth Day of his Illness fell into a very strong Fainting-Fit, fo that for fome Hours he was thought by the Attendants to be dead. Hence it being every where reported that the Pope had departed this Life, many of the absent Cardinals prepared to return to Rome, and among the rest those who had called the Council. Nor were the Commotions in Rome less fervid than they usually are on the Death of the Pontiffs, but rather there was Reason to apprehend that Fewel was preparing for greater Combustions. For Pompeo Colonna, Bishop of Rieti, and Antimo Savello, two factious young Men of the Roman Nobility, affembled the People in the Capitol, and with most seditious Speeches endeavoured to enflame them with an eager Defire to fet themselves at Liberty. But while they were thus labouring with the most immoderate

derate Ambition to excite the Romans A. D. to an open Rebellion, the Pope recovered out of his dangerous Fit, and finding himself somewhat relieved, though there were yet but very small Hopes of his Life, on the next Day, in the Presence of the Cardinals affembled in the Form of a Confistory, he absolved his Nephew from the Murder committed on the Person of the Cardinal of Pavia, not in the ordinary Way of Justice, as it had before been intended, the Shortness of the Time not admitting of it, but as a Penitent by virtue of the Apostolic Grace and Indulgence*. In the fame Confistory he took Care that the Election of his Successor should proceed according to the Canons, and willing to prevent others from

^{*} He appointed also that, in Case of his Death, the Cities of Bologna and Ferrara should be freed from their Interdicts, Excommunications and Curses. He also bequeathed to his Daughter Felice, Wise to Gio. Giordano Orsino Twelve Thousand Ducats ready Money, and the like Sum to his Nephew the Duke of Urbino. Bembo says an Hundred and Twenty Pound of Gold to each, and the same to Nicolo della Rovere his Sister's Son; and that he gave Pesaro in Fee to the Duke of Urbino, and to his Heirs from Generation to Generation, only paying a small yearly Tribute to the Roman Pontiffs.

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from ascending to so great a Dignity by the fame Steps on which he climbed to it himself, he ordered a Bull to be published full of horrible Pains and Penalties against those who by Money or any other Reward procured themselves to be elected Popes, difannulling an Election made by Simony, and opening a very easy Way for any Cardinal to oppose it. This Constitution had been pronounced by the Pope when he was in Bologna, being provoked against some Cardinals, who were openly folliciting others of their Brethren for their Promises to assist them for obtaining the Popedom after his Death. From that Day he grew very visibly better, which proceeded either from the great Robustness of his Constitution, or because he was referved by the Fates to be the Author and principal Cause of longer and greater Calamities to Italy. For his Recovery could not be ascribed to the Art or Remedies of the Physicians, since he would never be ruled by them in any Respect, but in the greatest Height of his Disorder would eat

raw

THE WARS IN ITALY.

raw Apples, and other Things contrary to their Precepts*.

A. U.

THE Pope was no fooner out of Danger of Death than he returned to his wonted Labours and Schemes, continuing to treat of Peace with the King of France, and at the fame time negotiating with the King of King of Aragon and the Venetian Senate an offen-Aragon five League against the French; and the the Pope his Inclinations were bent more upon War from a Peacewith than Peace, he seemed on certain Oc-France. casions to be in Suspense by the Multiplicity of Reasons which offered themselves. on both Sides of the Question. What inclined him to War, besides his inveterate Hatred of the King of France, and his not being able to obtain a Peace on all the Conditions he defired, was the Perfuafions of the King of Aragon, who apprehended more than ever that the King of France, as foon as he had accommodated Matters with the Pope, would upon the first Opportunity attack the Kingdom of Naples. And to give the greater Weight to his Counfels.

^{*} Gradinico, who wrote the Diary, says more particularly that Pope Julius in the Height of his Fever would eat a Rish, and drink strong Greek Wines.

A. D.

Counsels he had ordered that, besides the first Armada which he had passed over from Africa to Italy under the Command of Pietro Navarra, another should be got ready in Spain, on board of which were, as it was faid, embarked Five Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred Jenneteers, and Three Thousand Foot; a Force which added to the others, both for Number and Goodness of Troops, was by no means contemptible. That King however, with his usual Artifices, pretended that he was more defirous of a War against the Moors, and that he was not diverted from that pious and useful Work, either by Self-Interest or by any other Consideration, than the Devotion which he had always borne to the Apostolic See; but not being in a Condition to maintain fuch a Number of Soldiers of himfelf, he required the Affiftance of the Pope and the Venetian Senate: And that he might the more eafily induce them to condescend to his Request, his Forces that were all gone ashore in the Island of Capri near the City of Naples, made a Show of preparing themselves for passing over to Africa.

1511.

Pope de-

THE immoderate Demands of the King of Aragon aftonished the Pope, who abominated his Artifices, and was not with- bates with out Suspicions of him, because he knew himself in that he was continually putting the King Juncture. of France in hopes of his coming into contrary Measures. The Pontiff was satisfied that the Venetians would conform themfelves to his Will, but he was no less fenfible that their Treasury was greatly exhausted by a very burdensome War, and that the Senate would chuse rather to attend at present to the Desence of their own Territory, than to engage anew in a War, which could not be supported without a vast and almost intolerable Expence. He was in Hopes that the Swifs, on account of the general Inclination of the Populace, would declare against the King of France; but as he could not affure himfelf of it, it did not appear adviseable to expose himself to open and manifest Dangers in Reliance on uncertain Hopes, fince he was not ignorant that they had never broken off their Negotiations with the King of France, and that many of their VOL. V. leading

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leading Men, who reaped vast Profit from their Friendship with the French, used all their Endeavours that in the next Diet of the Cantons, which was at hand, their Confederacy with that King should be renewed. Of the Inclinations of Caefar, tho' that Prince was earnestly follicited by the Catholic King, and had a natural Antipathy to the French, he stood more in Fear than Hope, knowing the great Offers newly made him to encourage him to profecute the War against the Venetians and himself, and that the King of France was more capable of enlarging and performing them than any other Prince. He knew if Cafar should join with the King he would render the Council very formidable by his Authority, and by a real and hearty Conjunction of his Arms with the Forces and Money of France, confidering also the Conveniencies and Advantages of both the Princes from the Situation of their Dominions, would not leave his Holiness the least Hopes of Victory, which it was very difficult to obtain against the King of France alone. He supported his Spirits with Hopes that the King of England would would engage in a War with the Kingdom A.D. of France, induced by the Counfels and Perfuasions of the Catholic King his Father-in-law, and by the Authority of the Apostolic See, which at that Time was highly respected in that Kingdom, and in the Name of which his Holiness had with the most fervent Prayers supplicated that King's Affistance against the King of France, as an Usurper and Oppressor of the Church. But there were much stronger Inducements from the natural Hatred of the King and People of England to the Name of the French*, from the Youth of that Prince, and the vast Treasure left him by his Father, which was reported, by Authors of no mean Credit, to be inestimable. These Incentives kindled in the Heart of the young King, who was but newly come to the Crown, and had never feen any thing but Prosperity in his Family, an eager Defire of reviving the Glory of his Ancestors.

^{*} It is easier, says Polydore Virgil in his History of England, for a black Man to become white, than for the French heartily to love the English; or, on the other Side,. for one born in England to love one born in France; and this Enmity arising from their Contests for Power and Dominion, is nourished and increased by the Bloodshed and Slaughters on each Side.

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Ancestors, who intitled themselves Kings of France, and for several Ages victoriously carried on terrible Wars against that Kingdom, having not only for a long Time been in Possession of Guyenne and Normandy, rich and powerful Provinces, and, in a Battle fought near Poictiers, taken John King of France, with his two Sons, and many of the principal Lords, Prisoners, but also, with the greatest Part of the Kingdom, made themselves Masters of the City of Paris, the Metropolis of France; and fuch was the Rapidity and Terror of their Success, that it was firmly believed that if their King Henry V. had not been cut off by a natural Death in the Flower of his Age, and in the Course of his Victories, he would have conquered the whole Kingdom of France. The new King revolving in his Mind the Memory of these Victories, was transported beyond Measure with a Desire of entering upon Action, though his Father had upon his Death-bed expresly recommended to him above all things to live in Peace with the King of France, which was the only Way for a King of England to reign in Happiness

THE WARS IN ITALY.

ness and Security. Now if the English A. D. should make War upon the King of France at the same time when he was vigorously attacked on another Quarter, it must be acknowledged that fuch a Diversion would have been of vast Moment, fince it would be wounding that Prince in the very Bowels of his Kingdom, and the Memory of past Transactions had made the Name of the English extremely dreaded by the French. The Pontiff, however, could not affure himself of the Faith of a Barbarian, and besides his Country lay so remote, that he could not fecurely rest his Measures on this Affistance. Such were the Hopes of the Pope, and these the Limits within which they were bounded.

On the other Side the King of France, abhorring a War with the Church, was Delibedesirous of Peace, by which he would not the King only remove the Enmity of the Pope, but of France also free himself from the importunate De-tuation of mands of Cafar, and the Necessity of being Affair. fubservient to his Will. He made no Difficulty of disannulling the Council of Pisa, which he had fet on foot purely with a Defign S 3

1511.

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Defign to stimulate the Pope, out of Fear, to condescend to a Peace, provided that he pardoned the Cardinals and all the rest who had either confented or adhered to that Project. But on the other hand he was held in Suspense and Perplexity by the Demand of the Restitution of Bologna, that City by its Situation lying very convenient for molesting his Dominions; for he doubted whether the Pope would embrace a Peace with Sincerity, and with a Mind disposed to observe it, if Opportunities returned for breaking it, or rather defigned only to free himself from the imminent Danger of a Council and an Invasion. As to Cafar, he was in Hopes that there wanted nothing more to confirm him in his good Difposition, than to make good his Offers by the Greatness of his Efforts, fince that Prince had hitherto treated with him, not as one from whom he was fallen off, but as a Confederate, about their common Concerns, and had advised him, among other Things, not to confent that Bologna, a City of fo great Importance, should return under the Power of the Pon-He was not wholly distrustful of the Kings

Kings of Aragon and England, whatever Umbrage might be taken at the Proceedings, which now almost manifested themfelves, of the former of these Princes, and at the Reports which were spread abroad of the Inclinations of the other; tho' their Ambassadors had joined together in intreating his Majesty, at first with modest Speeches, and under Colour of friendly Offices, and afterwards in more earnest Inflances, that he would be pleafed to direct the Cardinals and Prelates of his Kingdom to afford their Presence at the Lateran Council, and to grant his Permission that the Church should be re-instated in Possession of her City of Bologna. For on one hand the English Ambassador pretended that his Master had no other Design than to persevere in the Confederacy which he had made with him, and many of his own Council affured him of the same; and therefore he believed that he had nothing to fear from that Prince. And on the other hand fuch were the Arts and Diffimulation of the Aragonian, that the King repofing less Faith in Facts than in Words, by which that King affured him that he S 4 would

A. D. would never take up Arms against him, fuffered himself to be deluded into a Perfuafion that he would never join with his Enemies in open War against him, as he was already joined with them in fecret Counsels and Resolutions. Lewis was infatuated with these vain Opinions to such a Degree, that when fome leading Men among the Swiss, who were in his Interest, had given him Hopes of reconciling himself with that Nation, if he granted their Demands of augmenting their Penfions, he again obstinately refused it, faying he did not intend to be mulcted. And farther, making Use of rough Means where gentle Remedies were necessary, he prohibited the Exportation of Provisions out of the Dutchy of Milan, in hopes of constraining the Swifs, who from the Barrenness of their Country must be great Sufferers by fuch a Prohibition, to renew the Confederacy on the antient Conditions.

Council of Pija opened.

In the mean time came on the First of September, the Day appointed for giving a Beginning to the Council of Pisa, when the Proxies of the Cardinals being arrived

1511.

in that City made feveral Acts, in the Name of their Constituents, relating to the Opening of the Seffion*. This Transaction highly provoked the Indignation of the Pope against the Florentines for confenting that the Conventicle (for fo he always called it) should be begun within their Dominions; and he declared that both the Cities of Florence and Pisa were become liable to the Ecclesiastic Interdict by virtue of the Bull of the Council called by himself, in which it was contained that whosoever favoured the Pifan Conventicle should be excommunicated and interdicted, and fubjected to all the Pains and Penalties ordained by the Severity of the Laws against Schismatics and Heretics. Then threatening them also with temporal Arms, he appointed the Cardinal de' Medici Legate of Perugia; and the Cardinal of Regino, Legate of Bologna, dying a few Days after, he

^{*} The Cardinals who were the Pope's Adversaries sent three Proxies to Pisa, pursuant to their own Way of Reasoning, by which they concluded that since the Council had been proclaimed to be held in that City, it was necessary to sit there two or three Times. These Proxies made some Acts relating to Prevention and the Corrobotation of their Rights; but proceeded no farther because, as Buonaco si says, they were forbidden by the Florentines,

A. D. he translated him to that Legation, with a View that, by placing a Pretender to that State with fo great an Authority near their Borders, they might take Occasion to fall into Distractions and Jealousies amongst themselves, which he hoped might easily fucceed from the present Circumstances of that City. For, besides that some desired the Return of the Family of the Medici, Discords and Divisions, the antient Bane of Florence, prevailed among some of the most considerable Citizens, and were occasioned at that time by the Greatness and Authority of the Gonfaloniere, which some, out of Ambition and Emulation, knew not how to bear. Some were diffatisfied at his arrogating to himself in the public Resolutions more perhaps than belonged to his Place, to the Exclusion of others whose Quality entitled them to a Share. It grieved them to fee the Government of the City constituted in two Extremes, that is to fay, in a public Head and a popular Council; and that there wanted, what is required in the right Institution of a Republic, a Senate duly ordained, by means of which, besides its serving as a Temperament

Divisions among the Florentines.

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perament between both these Extremes, the principal and best Citizens might be promoted to a more honourable Degree in the Commonwealth; and that the Gonfaloniere, who had been elected principally to give Orders for this Purpose had, in this Respect, either out of Ambition or groundless Jealousies, acted quite the contrary Part. But what these Citizens defired, though reasonable, was not however of fuch Importance as that it ought to dispose their Minds to Divisions, confidering that even without it they obtained an honourable Place, and the Management of public Affairs was not in effect transacted without them; but it unhappily proved the Origin and principal Cause of most grievous Calamities to that City. From these Foundations arose the Division between the Citizens, and it appearing to the Adversaries of the Gonfaloniere that he and his Brother the Cardinal of Volterra had a Dependance on the King of France, and relied on his Friendship, they opposed with all their Might those Resolutions which were to pass in favour of that King, and were defirous that the Pontiff should prevail. To the

A. D. the same Principles also it was owing that the Name of the Family of the Medici began to be less odious in the City; for those great Citizens who did not defire their Return, yet, out of Envy to the Gonfaloniere, would no longer concern themselves in perfecuting them, nor in preventing, as they had done at other times, their Fellow-Citizens from holding Correspondence with them; and by thus making a Show, in order to humble the Gonfaloniere, as if they stood upon good Terms with the Medici, they brought themselves under some Suspicion that they really defired the Aggrandizement of that Family. Hence it came to pass that not only their true Friends, who were of little Importance, began to entertain Hopes of a Change, but also many young Men of the Nobility, incited either by their own Prodigality, fome private Quarrel, or an ambitious Defire of domineering over others, longed for a Change in the State by Means of their Return. And this Disposition had for several Years been nourished and increased by the Cardinal de Medici' with mighty Cunning and Artfulness: For after the Death of Piero his

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his Brother, whose Name was had in A. D. Fear and Abhorrence, pretending that he never defigned to intermeddle in the Affairs of Florence, nor aspire to the antient Greatness of his Family, he always received with the highest Caresses all the Florentines that came to Rome, and readily fatigued himself in serving them in their Business. And he was no less disposed to do any kind Office for those who had been professed Enemies to his Brother than for others, laying all the Fault upon him, as if all Malice and all Offences were terminated by his Death. By this Manner of Proceeding, in which he continued feveral Years, accompanied with the Character which he had obtained in the Court of Rome, of being naturally liberal, obsequious and kind to every Body, he had rendered himself acceptable to many in Florence; and therefore Julius, who was defirous of changing that Government, took no imprudent Step in appointing him to that Legation.

THE Florentines appealed from the Pope's Interdict, not naming in their Ap-

Appeal the Pifan Council, but, to give A. D. 1511. him less Offence, only to a Holy Council of the universal Church; and acting as if the Effects of the Interdict were tines appeal from the Inter-fuspended by the Appeal, the Priests of the four principal Churches were condict. strained, by Orders of the supreme Magistrate, to celebrate divine Service publicly in their Churches. Hence the Division of the Citizens became the more eafily discovered, fince every one was left at liberty to observe or despise the Interdict.

> THE Ambassadors of the Kings of Aragon and England now renewed their Instances with the King of France, offering him Peace with the Pope on the Restitution of Bologna to the Church, and the Appearance of the Cardinals, for whom they would engage the Pope's Pardon, at the Lateran Council. But the King, being restrained from giving his Confent by his Regard to Bologna, anfwered that he did not defend a City that was contumacious and rebellious against the Church, under whose Dominion and Obedience it had continued very many

King of France refuses Terms of Peace with the Pope.

Years

Years before the Pontificate of Julius, A. D. who ought not to aim at more Authority than his Predecessors enjoyed while they held it. And as for the Council of Pifa, it had been set on foot with a very laudable and pious Intention of reforming the notorious and intolerable Diforders in the Church, which, without Danger of a Schissen or Division, might be restored to its antient Splendor, if the Pope, as it was just and fit, would give his Sanction to that Council. To this he added, that the Pope's restless and quarrelsome Dispofition, and his eager Inclination to Wars, had constrained him to enter into an Obligation for protecting Bologna; and therefore he was refolved to defend it, for the Sake of his Honour, as heartily as he would defend the City of Paris.

THE Pope therefore casting away all Thoughts of Peace, and incited by his inveterate Malice and Passions, by his Defire of recovering Bologna, by his Difdain and Fear of a Council, and laftly by an Apprehension that if he deferred any longer to come to a Resolution he should

A. D. be abandoned by all, for the Spanish Troops

1511. had already begun to embark at Capri,
with a seeming Intention of passing to

League Africa, resolved to sign the League which
between he had negotiated with the Catholic King
the Pope,
Venetians, and the Venetian Senate, which was soand King lemnly published on the sifth of October,
of Aragon in the Presence of the Pope and all the

Cardinals, at the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo. It imported that the Parties concerned entered into this Confederacy, principally with a View to preferve the Union of the Church, and for the Extirpation of the Schism of which it stood in imminent Danger from the Pisan Conventicle; and for the Recovery of the City of Bologna immediately appertaining to the Apostolic See, and of all the other Towns and Places that either mediately or immediately belonged to it, under which Meaning was comprehended Ferrara: Whoever should oppose them in the Execution of these Designs, or endeavour to obstruct their Progress (in which Words they had an Eye to the King of France) they would act against them with a powerful Army, in order to drive

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drive them quite out of Italy. For these A. D. Purposes the Pontiff was obliged by this Confederacy to furnish Four Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot; the Venetian Senate Eight Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot; and the King of Aragon Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and Ten Thousand Spanish Foot, towards the Maintenance of which the Pope was to contribute during the War Twenty Thousand Ducats each Month, the Venetians the like Sum. advancing Two Months present Pay, within which Time the Spanish Forces were to arrive in Romagna, or wherever the confederate Army was to rendevouze. The King of Aragon obliged himself to man out Twelve light Galleys, and Fourteen were to be fitted out by the Venetians, who were at the same time to begin the War against the King of France in Lombardy; and Don Raymond of Cardona, a Catalonian, and then Viceroy of Naples, was to be General of the Army. If any Towns should be conquered in Lom-VOL. V.

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Lombardy, which had belonged to the Venetians, they were to be determined by the Pope, who should without Delay, by a feparate Writing, adjudge them to be restored to their former Possessors. To Cafar was referved Liberty of acceding to this Confederacy, and also to the King of England; to the first with uncertain Hopes of separating him at last from the French Alliance; and to the other by express Consent of the Cardinal of York. who had constantly affisted at the Conferences. Soon after the Conclusion of the Treaty died Gieronimo Donato, the Venetian Ambassador, who by his Prudence and Dexterity had greatly ingratiated himself with the Pope, which he improved by doing fignal Services to his Country during his Embaffy.

Various Opinions of the new League. THIS Confederacy, made by the Pope under the Name of delivering Italy from Barbarians, occasioned various Sentiments in the Minds of Men according to their different Passions and Understandings. Many taken with the Speciousness and Magnificence of the Title praised up to

the Skies fo high and noble a Project; calling it a Profession truly worthy of the pontifical Majesty, and of the great Soul of Julius, who could not have undertaken an Enterprize more generous, and which was formed with no less Prudence than Magnanimity; fince he had politickly contrived that Barbarians should encounter with Barbarians, and that Foreigners more than Italians should spend their Blood against the French, by which Means he would not only fave the Lives of his Countrymen, but, after he had driven out one of the Parties, leave it much easier to expel the other, already weakened and enervated, with the Arms and Forces of Italy.

OTHERS there were, and perhaps of deeper Penetration, who, not fuffering their Eyes to be dazzled with the Splendor of a Name, were afraid that the Wars, which should begin with an Intention of delivering Italy from Barbarians, would have a more fatal Influence on the vital Spirits of that Body, than those which were undertaken with a manifest Profession, and a Possessors

T 2

most

A. D. most certain Intention of reducing it under Subjection; and that it favoured more of Rashness than Prudence to expect that the Italian Forces, without Valour, Discipline, Reputation, or Generals of Authority, and where the Princes have different Views, should be sufficient to drive out of Italy the Conqueror, who, when all other Remedies failed, would be fure to join with the Conquered for the general Destruction of all the Italians; and that there was much more Reason to fear that these new Movements would expose Italy to the Ravages of new Barbarians, than to hope that the Arms of the Pope and Venetians in conjunction should be powerful enough to fubdue the French and Italy had Reason to wish, Spaniards. faid they, that the Discords and perverse Councils of its Princes had never opened a Way for foreign Armies to invade that Country; but fince it was fo unhappy that two of its most noble Members were fallen under Subjection to the Kings of France and Spain, it ought to be accounted a leffer Calamity that both of them should remain in the Hands of the present Poffeffors

THE WARSIN ITALY.

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Possessions till the divine Goodness, or a A. D. happy Turn of Fortune afforded a more feafonable Juncture, while in the mean time, by preferving a Balance of Power between the two Kings, the Liberty of those who were not yet reduced under Servitude was fecured, than that the Princes should take up Arms one against another, by which means those Parts of Italy which had hitherto been unaffected, would become Scenes of infinite Depredations, Burnings, Slaughters, and tragical Incidents, 'till at last the Parties that remained Conquerors would reduce the whole Country under the most dismal and oppressive Slavery.

But the Pope, who had other Sentiments, affuming greater and more ardent Spirits from the new Confederacy, as foon as the Time prefixed in the Monitory before iffued to the Cardinals that were Authors of the Council was expired, fummoned with great Solemnity a public Confiftory, where being vested with the pontifical Robes, and seated in the Hall called the King's Hall, he declared the Cardinals

War

Florentines.

A. D. of Santa Croce, San Malo, Cofenza, and Bayeux degraded from the Dignity of the Cardinalship, and to have incurred all the Pains and Penalties denounced against Schismatics and Heretics. Besides this he issued a Monitory, drawn up in the fame Form, to the Cardinal of San Severino, who had hitherto been unmolested; and proceeding with the fame Ardor on his warlike Schemes he was continually Pope mefolliciting the March of the Spaniards, with ditates a an Intention, before all other Enterprifes, against the to make an Attack upon the Florentines in order to induce that Republic to come into the Measures of the Confederates by restoring the Family of the Medici to the Government; and with no less Desire to fatiate the immoderate Hatred which he had conceived against Piero Soderini the Gonfaloniere, as if it were by means of his Authority that the Florentines could never be induced to renounce their Alliance with France, and had given their Consent that a Council should be held in Pifa.

> THE Florentines penetrating into the Pope's Resolution by many Indications, Preparations

Preparations were made at Florence for A.D. fustaining a War, and among other Provisions it was proposed, as a very proper Expedient, that fince they were unjustly attacked by the Arms of the Church they should employ the Revenues of the Church in their own Defence, and for this Purpose constrain the Ecclesiastics to contribute a very large Sum of Money, but with this Precaution, that it should be deposited in a Place of Security, and not expended except in case of a War; but if all Apprehensions of a War should cease, the Money was to be returned to the Contributors. Many of the Citizens opposed this Motion; fome out of Fear of incurring the Censures and Penalties imposed by the Canon Laws on the Violators of the Ecclefiaftic Liberties; but the greater Part from a Spirit of Contradiction to whatever should be proposed by the Gonfaloniere, who, it was not doubted, was the principal Author and Promoter of this Measure. But the new Law defigned for the Purpose abovementioned, by the Diligence of the Gonfaloniere, and the Inclinations of many others had paffed the Approbation T 4

THE HISTORY OF 296

A. D. Approbation of the lesser Assemblies, and nothing was wanting but the Sanction of the Grand Council, which was affembled for that Purpose, when the Gonfaloniere made the following Speech for the Caufe.

the Gon-

Speech of "There is no Person here present, most faloniere worthy Citizens, who can justly doubt ofFlorence that the Pope was always defirous of fubverting your Liberty, not only from what appears at present in his so precipitately subjecting you to an Interdict, without hearing your many and very just Apologies, or regarding the Hopes you had given him that you would operate in fuch a Manner that in a few Days the Council should remove from Pisa, but much more from the continued Course of his Actions during the whole Time of his Pontificate. That I may briefly recount some Particulars, for to bring them all to your Remembrance would tire your Patience, who is there that can be ignorant that in the War against the Pisans, we never could obtain of him, though frequently fupplicated, the least Favour, either public or private, though the Justice of our Cause deferved

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deserved it, and the Extinction of a Fire, A. D. which not many Years before had given Occasion to very grievous Disorders, concerned the Security of the State of the Church, and the Peace of all Italy? On the contrary (what was from that time fuspected, and of which fince our Victory we have always received more perfect Affurance) as often as the Men of Pifa had recourse to him, he gave them a gracious Audience, and encouraged them in their Obstinacy with various Hopes. And this Inclination of his is no new Thing, it took Root in him while he was yet a Cardinal; for we all know that after the French had raised the Siege of Pisa, he used his utmost Endeavours with the King of France and the Cardinal of Rouen, that the Pisans might be received under the royal Protection, and the Florentines excluded. And fince he was Pontiff he never granted to our Republic any of those Favours of which the Apostolic See is wont to be very liberal; for in all our Wants and Necesfities he never fo much as once confented that we should help ourselves with the Revenues of the Ecclefiaftics, though Alexander

A. D. Alexander VI. who was so great an Enemy to this Republic, had feveral times granted us that Favour. But he shewed the same Disposition towards us in smaller Matters as he had in those of greater Moment; for he even denied us his Permission to exact any Money of the Clergy for the Maintenance of the public Schools, though it was but a fmall Sum, had been levied by Licence from fo many Popes, and was to be converted to the pious Uses of Instruction and Literature. The Negotiation of Bartolomeo d' Alviano with Cardinal Ascanio in Rome was not transacted without the Confent of the Pope, of which at that Time there were many Indications, and the fame would foon have appeared in manifest Effects, if the most considerable Perfons that affifted at the Treaty had not withdrawn themselves on the sudden Death of the Cardinal. But though the first Foundation of their Devices thus failed, the Pope would never consent, in Compliance with our just Intreaties, to prohibit Alviano from mustering and keeping up a Body of Troops in the Roman Territory, though he prohibited the Colonnas and

and the Savelli, by whose Affistance we A. D. might have diverted our Dangers with a fmall Expence, from attacking the States of those who were preparing to fall upon us. In the Affairs of Siena he always defended Pandolfo Petrucci against us, and constrained us by Threats to prolong the Truce; nor did he afterwards interpose his Interest for our Recovery of Monte Pulciano, for whose Defence he had fent Troops to Siena, from any other Motive than his Fears that we should call the French Army into Tuscany. On the contrary, for our Parts, we never did him any Injury, but always behaved ourselves with becoming Devotion towards the Church, and took particular Care to gratify him in all his Demands as far as lay in our Power, and lent him, without any Obligation, but even contrary to our Interest, our Troops for the Enterprise against Bologna. But no kind Offices, no Obsequiousness are sufficient to pacify his Spirit, of which there are a Multitude of Proofs, but the most flagrant, which, that I might not appear transported with Resentment, and because it is fresh in the Memory of all People, I would

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would chuse to pass over in Silence, is his lending an Ear, to fay no worfe, to those Villains who offered to affaffinate me; not out of any private Pique, for I had never offended him, and when he was a Cardinal was always honourably received by him, but from a passionate Desire to deprive you of your Liberty. For it has been his constant Aim that this Republic should concur with him in his immoderate and unjust Defigns, and should participate of his Expences and of his Dan-But despairing of any imprudent and precipitous Resolutions from the Moderation and Maturity of your Counsels, he has endeavoured to compass his Ends by introducing into this City a Tyranny dependent on himself, under which the public Councils and Administration would be directed, not with a Regard to your Welfare, but according to the Dictates of his own violent and unruly Desires, which, being founded on boundless and ambitious Views, have no other Tendency than to kindle War after War, and to keep alive a perpetual Flame in Christendom. And who can in the least doubt but at this very Instant,

Instant, when he finds himself united with fuch potent Allies, is absolute Lord of Ro- 1511. magna, and has the Senefe at his Devotion, by which means he has opened a Way to penetrate into the Bowels of our Country, he has a full Intention to employ his Forces against us? That he will use his Endeavours to gain his Ends by open Force, fince he could not compass them secretly by Fraud and Treachery; and strive to accomplish what he has so long and ardently defired, and with an Eagerness in proportion to our bad State of Defence? If we should want any other Proof, has not he himself sufficiently demonstrated his Intentions by just now deputing the Cardinal de' Medici his Legate to Bologna, with a Defign to put him at the Head of an Army; a Cardinal never honoured nor beneficed by him, and in whom he never feemed to place any Confidence? What can be the Meaning of this, but that, by investing with Authority, appointing upon your Borders, and thus as it were placing upon your Necks, with fo much Dignity and Honour, and with a military Force, a Man who aspires to be your Tyrant, he would

A. D. would give Encouragement to those Citizens (if any are fo depraved) who are more in Love with Tyranny than Liberty, and excite your Subjects to an Infurrection at the Name of the Medici? For these Reasons my honourable Colleagues, with many other good and well affected Citizens, have judged it necessary that for the Defence of their Liberty there should be made the fame Provisions as would have been done if the War had been certain; and that though it be probable that the King of France, from a Regard to his own Interest, will fend us a powerful Affistance, we ought not, in Reliance on those Hopes, to omit those Remedies which are in our own Power, nor forget that many Impediments may possibly intervene, which may deprive us of fome Part of those Succours. We cannot think that any one will deny this Counsel to be fafe and necessary; and whoever shall oppose it may possibly be influenced by some other Motives than a Zeal for the public Welfare. But there are yet some who argue that, as we are uncertain whether the Pope has determined to make War upon

us, it would be an impolitic Resolution to A. D. offend his Authority by laying an Impo- 1511 fition on the Estates of Ecclesiastics, and by giving him just Cause of Resentment provoke him to enter upon a War as it were by Necessity: As if his Intentions were not manifestly comprehended by such a Number of evident Proofs and Tokens; and as if it were the Part of prudent Administrators of a Republic to delay their Preparations till the Attack was begun, and chuse to receive the mortal Blow from the Enemy before they put on the Armour necessary for their Defence. Others fav we ought not to draw upon ourselves, befides the Pope's Anger, the Wrath of God, but provide for our Security by some other Means; fince we are not under that preffing Necessity without which it is always forbidden the Laity, under the most grievous Penalties, by the Canon Laws, to lay any Burdens upon the Estates or Perfons of Ecclefiaftics. This Objection also has been confidered by us, and by others who have promoted this Law. But the public Revenues not being sufficient, as you know, to defray the current Expences

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pences of the Government, and your Purses exhausted by long and heavy Taxes, and every one being fenfible that in a War new Impositions may be requisite on every Emergency, who does not fee that it is highly expedient, and even necessary, that the Expences we shall incur by defending ourselves in a War carried on against us by Ecclefiastical Persons should be defrayed in Part by the Treasures of Ecclesiastics; which have been frequently employed in our City, and much oftener by all other Princes and Republics; but never, either here or elfewhere, with greater Caution and Moderation, fince they are not to be applied to any other Use, and are besides to be deposited in a Place of Security, and restored, if our Fears should prove vain, to the Religious themselves? If the Pontiff then should not attack us, the Money of the Ecclesiastics will not be spent, nor in effect will there be any Hardship imposed. upon them; if he falls upon us, who can blame us if by all Means possible we endeavour to defend ourselves from so unjust a War? What Cause has this Republic, which suffered a Council to be called at Pifa

Pisa not out of Choice but Necessity, as he very well knows, given him of Provocation or Refentment? Unless a Man can be faid to provoke and incense another by not stretching forth his Neck, and laying open his Breast for receiving his Strokes, though, in truth, he does not provoke and incite him by standing upon his Guard, and preparing to refift his unjust Violence. Well might we be faid to provoke and stir up the Pontiff, if we neglected our own Defence; for the Hopes of easy Success in his Enterprise would increase the Ardor and Violence of his Efforts for destroying the very Foundations of your Liberty. Nor let the Fear of offending the divine Majesty restrain you; for the Danger is great and evident, and fuch are our Wants and Necessities (nothing of greater Moment, or that may tend more to our Prejudice possibly falling under our Consideration) that we are permitted to affift ourselves not only with that Part of the Revenues which is not converted to pious Uses, but it would be even lawful for us to lay our Hands on Things confecrated; because Self-Defence is allowed to all Men by the Law of Na-VOL. V. ture,

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ture, and approved by Almighty God, and the Consent of all Nations; had its Beginning and will end with the Wurld, and can suffer no Derogation by Civil or Canon Laws, which are founded on the Will of Men, and being written on Paper cannot invalidate a Law, not made by Men, but written, engraved and infixed in the Breafts and Minds of all human Generations. Nor are we to wait till we are reduced to extreme Necessity; for when we are brought into fuch a State, and furrounded, and in a manner oppressed with Enemies, it would be too late to have recourse to Remedies, too late to make use of Antidotes, when the Poifon has incorporated itfelf with the Body. Besides, how can it be denied that private Persons labour under very great Hardships, since by the heavy Taxes a very confiderable Part of them have been constrained to retrench from those Expences without which they cannot live but with very great Inconveniency, and a considerable Diminution of Things necessary to support their Rank? This Neceffity is considered by the Laws, which intend not that you should wait till your Citizens Citizens are in Danger of a Famine, and A. D. no longer able to support themselves and 1511. their Families. On the other hand the Ecclefiaftics will be under no Inconveniency from this Imposition, but only that of parting with fuch a Portion of their Revenues, as they would either let lie useless in their Coffers, or consume in superfluous Expences, or perhaps many of them, pardon the Expression, in unlawful and indecent Pleasures. It is the common Opinion of all Sages that God is highly pleafed with the Liberties of Cities, because by them the common Good is more confulted than under any other Form of Government, Justice is administered with greater Impartiality, the Minds of the Citizens are more incited to virtuous and honourable Actions, and more Respect and Reverence are paid to Religion. And can you believe that the Almighty will be displeased at your defending a Thing so precious as Liberty, for which whoever fpends his Blood meets with the highest Praises, by employing a small Part of your temporal Profits and Revenues for that Purpose? These Temporalities, though U 2 dedicated

A. D. dedicated to the Churches, came into their Possession either as Alms, Donations, or Legacies from our Ancestors, and will be as well spent for the Preservation and Security of those Churches, which in Times of War will be as much exposed as fecular Things to the Cruelty and Avarice of the Soldiers, and will be no more respected in a War made by the Pope, than in one under the Management of an impious Tyrant, or the Turks themselves. Affist now, my beloved Fellow Citizens, your dear Country, and stand up for your Liberties, while it is in your Power, and be affured that you cannot perform any Service more pleasing and acceptable in the Sight of God Almighty; and that to keep off a War from your Houses and Lands, your Temples and Monasteries, there is no better Expedient than to convince the Enemy who intends to diffress you, that you are determined to use all possible Means for your Defence."

> AFTER this Speech of the Gonfaloniere, the Majority of the Great Council made no Difficulty of passing the Law. But when

when this Transaction came to the Know- A. D. ledge of the Pope, it provoked his Indignation beyond Measure, and he laboured with the greater Earnestness to dispose the Confederates to begin the War by attacking the Florentines. But he fuffered himfelf, as well as those who negotiated the Affairs of the King of Aragon in Italy, to be diverted from that Project by the Persuasions of Pandolfo Petrucci, who advised them to make an Attack upon Bologna. For Pandolfo detesting a War in Tuscany remonstrated that Bologna was incapable of defending itself with its own Strength, and would be defended only by the Forces of the King of France; whereas they would meet with Resistance from the Florentines, by their own Power as well as that of the fame King, who, for his own Interest would defend them as much as he would Bologna: That the Florentines, tho' well affected to the King of France, were yet fo prudent, and zealous for the Preservation of their State, that during fuch great Commotions they had not, in compliance with his Instances, acted offensively against any State, nor

U 3

been

A. D. been serviceable to him in any Respect, but in furnishing him with Two Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of his Dominions in Lombardy, to which they were obliged by the Articles of the Treaty concluded with the Catholic King as well as himself: That they could not do a more acceptable Piece of Service to the King of France, than to necessitate the Florentines to depart from their Neutrality, and join with him in one common Caufe. It would be highly imprudent, he continued, that when the King had in vain follicited them by Intreaties and Promifes to declare for him, his Enemies should be the Cause of his obtaining his Ends, which he had failed of accomplishing by his own Authority. Every one was sensible by many Signs, but he himfelf had most certain Information, that it was very difagreeble to the Florentines that a Council should be held in Pisa, and they had not confented to it for any other Reason than that they durst not reject the Demands of the French King which were made immediately after the Rebellion of Bologna, and when they faw no Forces in Italy

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Italy affembled to oppose him: It was certain that the Council was promoted by the Authority of Cæsar, and it was believed that it had also the Consent of the Catholic King: That he knew also that the Florentines could by no means endure to have French Soldiers quartered in their Dominions; that it would be highly pernicious to threaten and exasperate them, but on the contrary would prove of great Advantage to deal with them mildly, and feem to admit of their Excuses; for by thus proceeding they would either obtain of them in time, or on fome fit Opportunity, what at prefent could not be expected; or, at least, by not constraining them by Fear to take new Refolutions, would lull them afleep, so as to receive no Damage from them in Times of Danger; and when the Victory, was once obtained it would be in the Power of the Confederates to impose on the Florentines what Form of Government they thought most expedient. The Authority of Pandolfo in this Cause was diminished by knowing that he was prompted by his own private Interest to wish that no War of such Consequence might

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might be commenced in Tuscany, by which all Parts of that Country would be ravaged and destroyed as much by the Armies of Friends as by those of Enemies. His Reafons however appeared to have fo much Weight in them, that it was eafily refolved to forbear attacking the Florentines; and what made this Counsel the better esteemed was the Dispute that happened not many

ings of the Days after between the Florentines and the Schisma- Cardinals. These Cardinals, as we observed tic Cardi-before, were not present at the first Acts of the Council, but had stopped at the Village of San Donino, either with an Intent to wait for the Prelates who were coming from France, or for those whom the King of the Romans had promifed to fend, or for some other Reasons. They set out from hence by different Roads; and it was reported that the two Spanish Cardinals who had taken their Rout for Bologna would reconcile themselves to the Pope; for they were known to be continually treating with the Ambassador of the King of Aragon at the Pope's Court; and as they had demanded and obtained of the Florentines a Safeguard for their Refidence

fidence in Florence, the Report gained A. D. Credit. But their Eminences being arrived in the Territory of Mugello suddenly turned towards Lucca to join with the others, either because they had really so determined before; or because in the Cardinal of Santa Croce in particular his old Ambition had at last got the better of his new Fear; or, lastly, because they had in that Place received Advice of their Degradation, and despaired of accommodating Matters with the Pope. The three French Cardinals San Malo, Albret, and Bayeux, at the same time passed the Appenine by the Road of Pontremoli, attended by the French Prelates; after whom followed, at their Request, Three Hundred French Lances, commanded by Odet de Foix Lord of Lautrec, appointed by the Cardinals to guard the Council, either because they thought it dangerous to stay in Pifa without fuch a Guard, or that the Council, accompanied by the Arms of the King of France, might proceed with the greater Authority; or really, as they faid themselves, that they might have the Power to suppress such as should dare to oppose or disobey their Decrees.

As foon as the Florentines were apprifed of this Appointment, which had been Florentinesrefule concealed from them till the Troops were to admit on their March, they came to a Resolution French Troops not to admit into a City of fuch Importance into Pisa. fo great a Number of Soldiers, confidering the Disaffection of the Pisans, and remembering that the late Rebellion was kindled by the Presence and Permission of the French King Charles, and the Inclination that the French Soldiers had ever shewn to the Pisans. Besides, they doubted that fome dangerous Accident might happen from the Infolence of the military Men; but they much more dreaded that if French Forces should be received into Pifa, Occasions might thence arise, and perhaps at the fecret Defire of the King, for making Tuscany the Seat of War. They signified therefore at the same time to the King the Difficulty of quartering fo many Troops in a narrow and barren Country, which could hardly yield Subfiftence to those Multitudes that were coming to the Council; and

that fuch a Guard was quite unnecessary, because they had taken care that Pisa

should

should be under such strict Regulations and A. D. Government, as to afford a very fecure 1511. Refidence for the Cardinals, without the least Danger of Insults from Foreigners, or Opposition from the Inhabitants. To the Cardinal of San Malo, by whose Dictates the French were directed in these Affairs, they gave Notice that they had refolved not to admit any Soldiers into Pifa. His Eminence, feeming to give his Confent in Words, gave Orders for the Troops to separate, but at the same time to proceed forwards, making the least Show that was possible; perfuading himself that when they approached Pifa they would make their Way into it, either by Force of Art, or because the Florentines would not prefume to offer so great an Affront to the King as to forbid their Entrance. But as the King in his Answer had faid expresly that his Troops should not march, the Florentines dispatched Francesco Vettori on an Embassy to the Cardinal of San Malo to controul his Pride, and affure him that if the Cardinals fet Foot on their Dominions with an armed Force they would not only refuse them an Entrance into Pifa, but persecute

A. D. persecute them as Enemies, and would act in the same Manner if their Men at Arms passed the Apennine towards Tuscany, for it was prefumed that they would not pass with any other Intention than, by fome fecret and fraudulent Contrivance, to get into Pifa*. This Message had such an Effect upon the Cardinal that he ordered the Troops to return beyond the Apennine, the Florentines confenting that he should be attended with an Hundred and Fifty Archers, and also Lautrec and Chatillon-t.

> THE Cardinals met altogether at Lucca, which City the Pope, for that Reafon, declared to have incurred the Interdict. Their Eminences at their Departure from Lucca left the Cardinal of Cosenza fick, who died a few Days after. The other

four

last Day of October, 1511. Buonac.

^{*} In the mean time the Florentines took care to provide Pifa with a Guard, fent for feveral Pifan Citizens to Florence, and ordered all their Men at Arms to be quartered in the Neighbourhood of Pi/a, that they might not be taken unprovided. Buonac.

⁺ The Pope was fo pleased that the Florentines had caused the French Troops to return back, that he suspended the Interdict published against Pisa and Fiorence till the Middle of November; the Cardinals arrived at Pifa the

four went to Pifa, where they were neither A. D. received with Chearfulness by the Magi-1511. strates, nor with Reverence and Devotion Cardinals by the Populace; because their Coming at Pisa. was very disagreeable to the Florentines, and the Cause of the Council was in no Esteem or Acceptation among the Christian Nations. For though the Title or Profesfion of reforming the Church was truly honourable, and highly beneficial, and no less necessary than acceptable to the whole Christian World, yet every one was sensible that the Authors of the Council were moved by ambitious Ends, immoderately defirous of temporal Preferments, and under the Pretence of the public Good had confulted their private Interest; that whoever of them should come to be Pontiff, he would stand in as much Need of Reformation as those whom they pretended to reform; and that, befides the Ambition of Priests, the Quarrels and Disputes between Princes and States had raifed and fupported the Council. These Reasons had induced the King of France to procure it, the King of the Romans to confent to it, and the King of Aragon to defire

fire it. It was therefore clearly comprehended that the Caufe of Armies and Empires was principally connected with the Cause of the Council, and the People abhorred that, under the pious Pretences of spiritual Concerns, the chief Care should be directed to temporal Affairs, to be profecuted by open Wars and shameful Actions. Hence the Cardinals were not only treated with visible Marks of the public Hatred and Contempt at their Entrance into Pisa, but more manifestly in the Management of the Council. For having called the Clergy to affift at the first Session in the Cathedral Church, not one of the Religious would appear; and when they defigned, according to the Cuftom of Councils, to celebrate the Mass for imploring the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, the Priests belonging to that Church refused to lend them the Sacerdotal Ornaments; and proceeding to a greater Degree of Boldness, they locked the Doors of the Church, and opposed their Entrance. The Cardinals fending their Complaints to Florence, the Government ordered that they should have free Access to the Churches,

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Churches, and to the necessary Apparatus A. D. for celebrating divine Service, but the Clergy were not to be compelled to affift at it. These Resolutions, which were in a manner inconfistent with themselves, proceeded from the Divisions among the Citizens, who, while on one hand they received the Council into the Towns of the Republic, and on the other left its Members exposed to Contempt and Affronts, offended the Pope, and at the same time displeased the King of France. The Cardinals therefore confidering that to stay in Pisa without a Guard must be dangerous, and that the Authority of a Council must be weakened in a City that would not obey its Decrees, were inclined to leave the Place as foon as they had fettled their Affairs: But they were constrained to hasten their Departure by an Accident which, tho' fortuitous, yet had its Foundation in the Disaffection of the People. A French Soldier, it feems, having grofly abused a Whore in a public Place, the People who stood near began to cry out upon him. The Noise drew thither a Number

A. D. of French with their Arms, as well Soldiers as Domestics of the Cardinals and the other Prelates, and on the other Side a great Concourse of the Pisan Populace and Florentine Soldiers; and one Party crying up France, and the other Marzocco *, the Enfign of the Republic of Florence, there began a furious Fight between them: But the French and Florentine Officers running thither, the Tumult was at last appealed, after many on both Sides had been wounded, among whom were Chatillon, who had rushed in among them without Arms to put a Stop to the Fray in the Beginning, and Lautrec, who ran thither upon the like Occasion, tho' their Wounds were but flight.

THE Cardinals, who at the same time happened to be assembled in the Church of San Michele near the Place where the Fray happened, were so terrified at this Accident, that in their second Session, which they held the next Day, they made an Act for removing the Council to Milan, and departed in all Haste on the sisteenth

Day

^{*} A painted or engraved Lion.

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Day after their Coming, to the great Joy A. D. of the Florentines and Pisans, and no less of the Prelates that attended the Council, Council of and were much chagrined at their coming Pifa traninto a Place, which by the bad Condition flated to Milan. of the Houses, and many other Inconveniences proceeding from the long War, was by no means fuited to the delicate and plentiful Life of Priests and of Frenchmen, and much more because they came thither by the King's Orders, contrary to their own Inclination, and wished for a Change of Place, or for any Accident that might embarass, prorogue, or diffolve the Council. But the Cardinals, every where hated and despised by the People, would have met with the same or even worse Treatment in Milan. For the Milanese Clergy, as foon as they had entered the City, regarding them not as Cardinals of the Roman Church, who used to be honoured and in a manner adored every where, but as profane and execrable Persons, immediately refrained of themselves from celebrating divine Service: And whenever they appeared in public the Populace Vol. V. curfed

curfed and openly affronted them with reproachful Words and Gestures, especially the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who was reputed the Author of the Schism, and was more distinguished in the Eye of the Public, because in the last Session at Pisa he had been elected President of the Council. Nothing was heard in all the Streets but Murmurings of the People: Councils, they faid, usually brought with them Bleffings, Peace, and Concord; this would produce nothing but Curfes, Wars, and Discord: Other Councils used to affemble for the Sake of restoring Unity to the Church; this met together with an Intent to divide it when it was united: The Contagion of fuch a Plague communicated itself to all those that received, obeyed, or favoured them, or in any Manner conversed with them, heard, or regarded them; and that nothing could be expected from their Coming but Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, and in the end, Destruction both of Body and Soul. These clamorous and almost tumultuous Speeches were repressed by Gaston de Foix, whom the King a few Months before, at the Departure of Monf.

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Monf. Longueville, had constituted Go-A. D. vernor of the Dutchy of Milan, and General of the Army, who constrained the Clergy, by very severe Orders, to refume the Exercise of their Functions, and the People to talk more modestly.

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By reason of these Difficulties the Council opened with a very ill Afpect, and the Hopes of the Cardinals were still more diminished by the Conduct of Casar, in delaying Day after Day to fend either Prelates or Proxies, tho', befides fo many Promifes made before, he had protested to the Cardinal of San Severino, and constantly affured the King of France that he would fend them. But at the fame time, either to excuse himself, or being perfuaded by others that it was not becoming his Dignity to fend to the Pisan Council the Prelates of his own States, unless it were in the Name of the whole Germanic Nation, he alledged that he had called a Convocation of the German Prelates at Ausburg, to deliberate in what Manner to proceed by common Confent in the Affairs of that Council; and by X 2 this

A. D. this Means, he affured the French, he would induce them all to appear in Person or by Proxy. The King fretted extremepetted by ly at this shuffling Way of Proceeding in the King of France. Cæsar, who, besides the Coldness he shewed with regard to the Council, openly hearkened to an Accommodation with the Venetians, which was sollicited with

shewed with regard to the Council, openly hearkened to an Accommodation with the Venetians, which was follicited with many Offers by the Pontiff and the King of Aragon. On the other hand he complained of the Catholic King, that he was not ashamed openly to infringe the League of Cambray, and that in this new, not Confederacy, but Conspiracy, he had named him as Party. He proposed therefore to Galeazzo di San Severino, that he should march to Rome in Person. on the Score of a private Enmity against the Pope, the King furnishing him with Part of his Army, and a very large Sum of Money. He did not however propose thefe Things with fuch an Affurance, but that it might be doubted, if all his Demands were fatisfied, what would be his final Resolution.

THE King thus, as usual, was held in Suspense,

Suspense, and involved in Doubts and A. D. Suspicions. To abandon Cæsar would cause him to join with his Enemies; if he thought fit to support him, his Alli-King of France ance must be purchased with an immensedelibe-Sum of Money, of which he did not the preknow what would be the Fruits, fince he fent had learnt by Experience that the Un-Juncture. steadiness of that Prince had often done him more Harm than he had received Benefit from his Affistance; so that the King was at a Loss to determine with himself whether he had most Reason to be apprehensive of the good or ill Success of Casar. His Perplexity was increased as much as possible by the Catholic King, who, in order to make him flacken his Preparations for War, put him in Hopes that there would be no Occasion for Acts of Hostility. The King of England did the like, and with the same Intent: for that Prince, in his Answer to the French Ambassador, assured him that it was not true that he had confented to the League made at Rome, but that he was disposed to observe the Confederacy which he had contracted with his Master. At X 3 the

A. D. the same time the Bishop of Tivoli in the Name of the Pontiff proposed Peace, provided the King would no longer favour the Council, and would withdraw his Protection from Bologna, offering to give him Security, if he complied, that the Pope should attempt nothing further against him. The King was more disposed to Peace, tho' on unequal Terms, than to run the Risque of a War, which would require almost infinite Expences to make Head against his Enemies, and support Cæsar; but it raised his Indignation to think that the King of Aragon should in a manner force him to a Peace by the Terror of Arms. It was very difficult also to get Security that the Pope, after he had recovered Bologna, and was freed from the Fear of a Council, should observe the Peace; and it was to be doubted, even if the King should shew himself ready to consent to the Conditions proposed, whether the Pontiff would not retract, as he had done at other Times. which would be an Affront to the Majesty of the King, and a Diminution of his Reputation, and Cafar would think himself

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himself injured by his Forwardness to con- A. D. clude a separate Peace, leaving him to continue the War against the Venetians by himself. Upon these Considerations he positively answered the Bishop of Tivoli, that he would not confent that Bologna should be subject to the Church in any other Manner than it had usually been in former Times; and at the same time, to fix in his Interest Maximilian, who was then at Brunech, a Town not far from Trent, he dispatched away in all Haste Andrea di Burgo of Cremona, Cæsar's Refident at his Court, to his Master with very large Offers. Some of that Prince's Subjects of the County of Tyrol about this Time made themselves Masters of Battisten, a very strong Castle at the Entrance of the Vale of Cadoro.

THE Negotiations of Peace being now broken off, the King of France first defigned that Palisse, who, after leaving Three Thousand Foot in Verona to pacify Cafar who was chagrined at his Departure, was returned with the rest of the Troops into the Dutchy of Milan, should make

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A. D. new Levies of Foot, and afterwards uniting all the Forces make an Invasion into Romagna, in hopes of making himself Master of all or Part of that Country before the Arrival of the Spaniards, and then either pursue his Conquests as Opportunity offered, or fix the Seat of the War in the Territories of others till the Approach of Spring, when he would pass into Italy in Person with all the Forces of his Kingdom, in hopes of shewing himself every where fuperior to his Enemies. But while he amused himself with Schemes, his Refolutions proceeded perhaps with more Slowness than was consistent with the Exiable Parsi-gencies of Affairs, and he was retarded by

the King

mony of his natural Parsimony, which rendered him of France. quite averse to spending of Money, in making feveral necessary Provisions, and particularly in ordering new Levies of Foot, as it was doubted whether the Swiss would put themselves in Motion. But fince we have been obliged to mention the Nation of the Swiss in several Places of this History, it will be much to our Purpose, and in a manner necessary to give a particular Account of them.

THE Swifs are the same People that the 1511. Antients called Helvetians, and are a Race Account of Men that inhabit the highest Mountains of the of Jura, called San Claudio, and those of Swiss. Briga and S. Goddardo. They are by Nature fierce and rustic, and on account of the Barrenness of their Country more addicted to Grazing than Tillage. They were formerly in Subjection to the Dukes of Austria, from whom they long fince revolted, and are governed by themselves, paying no Mark of Homage either to the Emperors, or to any other Princes. They are divided into thirteen States, which they call Cantons, each of them governed by its own proper Magistrates, Laws and Ordinances. They hold once a Year, or oftener if Occasion requires, Consultations on Affairs of univerfal Concern, affembling themselves sometimes in one Place, fometimes in another, as the Deputies from each Canton shall chuse. These Affemblies, according to the Custom of Germany, are called Diets, and debate upon Wars, Treaties of Peace, and Confederacies, on the Demands of those who follicit

licit Leave to list Soldiers by public De-A. D. cree, or Permission for Volunteers to enter into foreign Service, and on Matters concerning the common Interest. When Soldiers are granted by public Decree, the Cantons chuse among themselves a Captain General over all, to whom they deliver the Standard with the Colours in the Name of the Public. This wild and unpolished Nation has gained great Renown by its Union and glorious Exploits in War; for the Swiss, by their natural Ferocity, and orderly Discipline, have not only constantly defended their own Country with great Valour, but highly fignalized their martial Abilities in foreign Service. And their Praise would have been incomparably greater, if they had employed that Skill and Courage for the Service of their own Empire, which they spent abroad for Hire, and for enlarging the Dominions of others; and if they had directed their Views to more generous Ends than the Getting of Money, by the Love of which they have fuffered themselves to be corrupted, and have since lost the Opportunity of being formidable to all Italy. For as they marched out of their Country Country only as mercenary Soldiers, they A. D. acquired nothing to the Public by their 1511. Victories, being accustomed out of a greedy Defire of Gain to require large Subfidies, and make new Demands of Pay, and fo become almost intolerable in Armies, befides being troublefome and contumacious in their Behaviour and Obedience to those that paid them. The Heads of the People abstain not from receiving Gifts and Penfions from Princes, for espousing and favouring their Cause in Debates; thus making the public Welfare fubservient to their private Interest, and becoming venal and open to Corruption, they difagreed among themselves, so that the Decrees of the Majority of the Cantons in the Diets not meeting with universal Approbation and Obedience, they came at last not many Years ago to an open Rupture and Civil War, to the vast Diminution of that Authority and Respect which they had every where acquired. Beneath thefe Cantons are fituated certain Towns and Villages inhabited by a People, called Vallesi because they dwell in Valleys. These are much inferior to the other in Number, public

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public Influence, and Bravery, being universally reputed to come short of the Swifs in Fierceness. There is yet another Race of Men, of a lower Situation than the two former, called Grisons*, who divide their Government into three Cantons, and are therefore called Lords of the three Leagues. Their principal Town is called Coira, and they are often confederated with the Swiss, and accompany them to the Wars, being governed almost by the same Ordinances and Customs: These People are superior in Arms to the Vallesi, but not equal to the Swiss either in Number or Valour.

THE Swifs then, who at this Time were not quite so degenerate and corrupt as they became afterwards, being stimulated by the Pontiss, prepared for a Descent into the Dutchy of Milan. They would not confess that their Movement proceeded from the Consent of all the Cantons, but gave out that the Cantons of Schuitz and Friburgh were the Authors of it; the sirst

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^{*} Antiently Rheti.

on a Complaint that one of their Couriers in passing through the State of Milan had 1511. been murdered by some French Soldiers, and the other on pretence of having received some particular Injuries. Though the King of France was before well informed of the Deligns of these Cantons, and in general of the whole Nation, he could not be induced to come to an Agreement with them, to which he was continually advised by his Council, and which those who were his Friends among the Swifs gave him Hopes of accomplishing, being restrained by his usual Difficulty of adding Twenty Thousand Francs, which is about Ten Thousand Ducats, to their former Penfions. Thus for the Sake of faving a trifling Sum, he refused that Friendship which he would many times afterwards have purchased with inestimable Treasures, perfuading himself that either they would not march at all, or if they did that they could do him but little Prejudice, because they used to make all their Expeditions and fight their Battles on foot, having neither Cavalry nor Artillery. Besides, in that Season, it being the Month of November,

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had no Pontons or Boats, the Provisions in the Dutchy of Milan were, by Orders of Gaston de Foix, all removed into the Fortresses, the Frontier Towns were well garrisoned, and the Men at Arms in Readiness to oppose the Enemy in the Plains. By these Impediments it was judged that if the Swiss should put themselves on their March, they would be obliged to return within a few Days. They were not however terrissed by these Diffi-

Descent of culties from beginning a Descent to Varese, the Swiss at which Place their Forces continually in-Dutchy of creased, having brought with them seven Milan.

Field Pieces, and a great Number of large Harquebuses carried on Horses, and not wholly neglected to furnish themselves with Provisions*. Their Coming was much the more dreaded because the French Soldiers being grown more licentious than usual, the People began to be heartily

tired

^{*} The Saviss before they descended to Varese sent a Messenger to Venice, to acquaint the Senate that they were resolved to drive the French out of Italy, and to succour the Venetians, and therefore demanded a Supply of Provisions, a Train of Artillery, and Five Hundred Horse; with these Demands the Senate readily complied. Bembo.

tired of their Government; and the King A. D. restrained by Avarice had not consented to 1511. raise a Body of Foot; and all his Men at Arms at that Time in Italy amounted to no more than Thirteen Hundred Lances effective Men, befides Two Hundred of the Royal Guards: Nor were these all at hand to oppose the Swiss, for Part of them were in Garrison at Verona and Brescia, and Foix had lately sent Two Hundred Lances to Bologna on Advice of the Arrival of the Cardinal de' Medici and Marco Colonna at Faenza. And though they had no Number of Foot in their Service, it appeared necessary to send that Reinforcement to Bologna on account of the Divisions in that City, and because the Governor of the Castle of Sassiglione, a Fortress on the Mountain of Bologna, had not long before voluntarily furrendered it up to the Legate. From Varese the Swiss sent a Trumpet to bid Defiance to the King's Lieutenant, who having but a few Men at Arms with him, because he had not had Time to assemble them, nor above Two Thousand Foot, not refolving as yet on new Levies because he would not displease the King, was arrived

A. D. rived at Affaron, a Town thirteen Miles distant from Milan, not with an Intention to give Battle, but closely to attend the Motions of the Enemy, and to intercept their Provisions, by which alone he could expect to stop them, there being no Rivers of difficult Passage, nor Towns that could be defended between Varese and Milan. From Varese the Swiss proceeded to Galera, their Forces being increased to Ten Thousand Men; and Gaston, who followed Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, posted himfelf at Lignago, four Miles from Galera. These Motions struck such a Terror into the Milanese, that they listed Men at their own Charge for the Defence of the City, and Teodoro da Trivulzi caused the Bastions to be fortified, and, as if the Army must be obliged to retire into Milan, he ordered Esplanades to be made on the Inside round the Ramparts that encompass the Suburbs, that the Horse might act conveniently. Gaston de Foix, however, with Three Hundred Lances and Two Hundred of the King's Guards, and a good Train of Artillery, presented himself before the Town of Galera. At his Appearance the Swifs marched

marched out in Order of Battle; but not A. D. chusing to fight in an open Place before _______. they were more in Number, they immediately retired into the Town. Forces in the mean time were continually increasing till they resolved no longer to decline an Engagement, but marched forwards to Busti, in which Town were quartered an Hundred Lances, who had much ado to fave themselves, with the Loss of their Baggage and Part of their Horses. At last the French still retiring as the Swifs advanced, took shelter within the Suburbs of Milan, but it was still uncertain whether they intended to stay there for their Defence, or not, because they gave out one Thing in their Speeches, and their Sollicitude in furnishing the Cittadel with Provisions shewed the contrary. Swifs afterwards approached within two Miles of the Suburbs, but the Fears they had excited were now much allayed by the continual Arrival of Men at Arms recalled to Milan, and Companies of Foot newly levied, and Molard was expected every Hour with the Gascon, and Jacob with the German Foot, one being ordered from Ve-VOL. V. rona,

A. D. rong, and the other from Carpi. At this Time also were intercepted Letters from the Swiss to their Lords, signifying that the French made but a weak Defence, and that they wondered at their receiving no Message from the Pope; that they knew not what the Venetian Army was doing, but that they proceeded however according to Appointment. They were now increafed to Sixteen Thousand, and turned their March towards Monza, on which they made no Attempt, but inclining more towards the Adda put the French in Fear left they should endeavour to pass that River. Wherefore they laid a Bridge at Casciano, with a Design to prevent their Paffage by means of the commodious Situation of that Town and of the Bridge. While Things were in this Posture arrived at Milan, having first obtained a Pass. an Officer of the Swifs, who demanded a Month's Pay for all the Foot, and afferted that, on the Receipt of it, their Troops should return to their own Country; but he departed without Effect, because the Sum they offered him was much too fmall. The next Day he came again with much

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much higher Demands, and though they made him greater Offers than they had done the Day before he returned to his Countrymen, and immediately after fent back a Trumpet to fignify that the Swifs would come to no Agreement; and the next Day, contrary to all Expectation, Swift rethey moved towards Como, and from thence turn inreturned into their own Country, leaving glorious their their the Public at liberty to judge whether their Country. Descent into the Dutchy of Milan was made with a Defign to conquer it, or to pass further; and for what Reason, before they laboured under any evident Difficulty, they marched back; or why, if they had refolved to return, they had not accepted the Money that was offered them, especially fince it was their own Demand. Whatever might be the Reason, it is certain that while they were on their Return there came two Messages from the Pope and the Venetians, and it is reported that if they had arrived sooner, the Swifs would not have departed. And it is not doubted that if at that very Time when they entered the Dutchy of Milan the Spaniards had approached Bologna, the French being unprovided

A. D. unprovided for making Resistance in so many Places at once, their Assairs in Italy would suddenly have run to manifest Ruin beyond Recovery.

The King of France being now taught by Experience the Danger which he had not the Prudence to foresee, had given Orders to Foix, before he had Notice of the Retreat of the Swifs, to spare no Money for making his Peace with them; and not doubting but that, though his Differences were accommodated with that Nation, he should be powerfully attacked by other Enemies, had commanded all the Men at Arms in France, except Two Hundred which he referved in Picardy, to pass the Mountains, and sent also a new Reinforcement of Gascon Foot on the same Expedition, and gave Directions to Foix to recruit his Army with Italian and German Foot. He follicited also the Florentines with pressing Instances for their Assistance, which would be of great Service, because the Seat of the War would be in the Neighbourhood of their Territories, which also lay very convenient for alarming the Eccleunprovided fiaftic

King of France follicits
Affistance from the Florentines.

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hastic State, and for intercepting the Enemy's Convoys, if they made an Attack on Bologna; and he earnestly infisted that they would openly with all their Forces concur with him in the War, because the Necessity of the present Juncture required it, and not with a fmall and limited auxiliary Force, or what only they were obliged to furnish by the Terms of their Confederacy; reprefenting that they could never have a fairer Opportunity of obliging him, or performing a more fignal Piece of Service, the Memory of which would perpetuate itself to all his Successors; and that, if they well confidered it, by undertaking his Defence and Affistance they defended and promoted their own Cause, fince they could not be ignorant of the great Malice of the Pope against them, and how ardently the Catholic King defired to establish in their City a Government entirely dependent on himself.

BUT in Florence the People were of Divisions various Sentiments: Many blinded with in Florence on chusing the present Opportunity of saving their their Party Money, had no Regard to Futurity. in the War Others were more influenced by remembering that neither this King nor Y 2 Charles

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Charles his Predecessor ever made any Acknowledgement or Requital of the Fidelity and Services of their Republic, and that Lewis had made them pay a great Price for his Engagement not to obstruct them in the Recovery of Pisa. They were taught by this Example to put no Trust in his Promises or Offers, and knew that they should never find in him any Gratitude for whatever Services they could do him. It would therefore be an Act of no small Rashness to resolve on entering into a War, by which, if it should be unprosperous, they would be fure to participate of more than their just Share in all its Calamities, and if it should prove successful they could not promise themselves the least Benefit. But, besides these, the most considerable Party was of those who out of Enmity or Ambition, or a Defire of another Form of Government, opposed the Gonfaloniere; magnifying the Reasons already given, and adding others, particularly that by standing neuter they should not excite the Hatred of any one of the Parties against themselves, nor give either of the two Kings any just Cause to complain of them.

Reasons for a Neutrality.

For

For they were not bound to give the King A. D. of France any further Assistance than the Three Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of his own States, with which they had already accommodated him. Nor could this be taken ill by the King of Aragon, who would think himself a sufficient Gainer if they intermeddled no further in the Quarrel; but as those were always most praised, and held in Esteem, who kept their Faith, he would rather conceive Hopes from this Example that, whenever his Affairs required it, they would with the same Fidelity observe their Engagements with him, to which they were bound by the Treaty they had made both with him and the King of France. By this Conduct, if Peace should happen to be made between the Princes, their City would be respected and preserved by both Parties; if one obtained the Victory, he could not think himfelf injured, nor have any Cause of private Enmity, and therefore it would not be difficult to purchase his Friendship with the same Money that they must have spent in the War, and perhaps with a less Sum; a Method, by which their

A. D. their Ancestors had oftener saved their Liberty, than by Force of Arms: Whereas by taking contrary Measures they must expect to be at a vast Expence without any Necessity, and for the Sake of others, as long as the War lasted, and if the hostile Party gained the Victory, the Liberty and Safety of their Country would remain exposed to most manifest Danger.

Gonfalo-Party.

But the Gonfaloniere was of a different the French Opinion, and judged it the fafest Way for the Republic to take up Arms for the King of France; and for that Reason he had before favoured the Council, and furnished the Pope with Matter for Resentment, with a View that the City being provoked by him, or falling under Suspicion, might be in a manner necessitated to take this Resolution*. And at this Time he demonstrated that the Counsel of those who would have them stand idle Spectators of

^{*} The Gonfaloniere was a hearty Favourer of the French Party, because by his perpetual Magistracy he had drawn upon himself the Envy of the Nobles in the Republic to a very high Degree, and had no other Way to support himself in his Office than by the Friendship and Forces of the French. Giovio in his Life of Alfonfo.

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a War carried on fo near their Borders, A. D. and by Princes fo much mightier than themselves, could not but be very per-Reasons nicious. A Neutrality, faid he, in the Wars against a of others was a commendable Measure, and Neutrathe Occasion of avoiding a Multitude of Troubles and Expences, when your Forces are not so weak that you have Reason to be afraid of the Victory of any of the contending Parties; because, in such a Case it not only brings you Security, but it often happens that the Straits into which the Warriors plunge themselves furnish you with the Means of enlarging your own State. That you have given no Offence, nor just Cause of Complaint to any Party, is no Foundation for Security; for the Infolence of the Conqueror is very rarely, or, perhaps, never restrained by Justice or difcreet Confiderations. Great Princes think not themselves less injured when they are refused what they defire, but conceive an Indignation against every one that is not obsequious to their Will, and is not forward to venture his own Fortune on the fame Bottom with theirs. It is Folly to imagine that the King of France will not think

A. D. think himself injured when he shall find himself abandoned in so dangerous a Juncture, and shall see no Effects correspondent to the Faith which he had in the Florentines, to what he had firmly promifed himself from them, and to their own Protestations and Assurances so often repeated to him. It was still more abfurd to suppose that if the Pope and the King of Aragon came off Conquerors, they would not let loose their victorious Arms against their Republic, one out of an infatiable Malice, and both of them from a passionate Desire of establishing a Government that should be under their Direction, perfuading themselves that the City, if left to its Liberty. would always have more Inclination to the French than to them; and, as an evident Proof of their Intention, had not the Pope, with the Catholic King's Approbation, appointed the Cardinal de' Medici his Legate to the Army? To perfift in a Neutrality therefore could mean no otherwise than to chuse to become a Prey to the conquering Party; but by taking Part in the Quarrel, if they happened to espouse the successful Cause, the Consequence would at least

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drogon.

least be their own Security and Preservation; a Reward, since Affairs were reduced to so dangerous a Situation, of very great Importance; and if a Peace should be made, they would obtain the better Conditions. It was superstuous to dispute what Party had the best Claim to their Assistance, because none could doubt but that they ought rather to be directed by their antient Friendship, by which if the Republic had not been recompensed or rewarded, it had at least been several Times defended and preserved, than to have recourse to new Alliances, which would always be unfaithful, always suspected.

THESE Reasons brought by the Gonfaloniere were of no Effect, his Counsel being defeated chiefly by the Opposition of those who would be highly chagrined that the King of France should acknowledge himself indebted to the Endeavours of that Magistrate for his desired Conjunction with the Florentines. In these Debates, one Party ever interrupting another, they neither came to any Resolution to declare themselves on either Side, nor yet wholly 348

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to stand neuter. Hence frequently proceeded uncertain and fluctuating Counfels, and Resolutions inconsistent with themfelves, by which they deserved no Thanks, nor conferred any Obligation. On the contrary, in this wavering and irrefolute Disposition, to the great Displeasure of the King of France, they fent Ambassador to the King of Aragon Francesco Guicciardini, the Writer of this History, and Doctor of Laws, at that time fo young that he was by the Laws of his Country incapable of exercifing any public Employment on Account of his Age*. His Instructions, however, were not of fuch a Nature as to moderate in any measure the ill Disposition of the Confederates.

Author fent Ambassador to the King of Aragon.

Islano Faid

No T long after the Swiss were returned to their Houses, the Spanish and Eccle-siastic Forces began to enter Romagna. At their Coming all the Towns which the Duke of Ferrara possessed on this Side the Po, except the Fort of Genivolo, surrendered at the bare Summons of a Trumpet.

He was then but Twenty-nine Years of Age, and it was never known that in Florence one so young was entrusted with so considerable a Charge. He went on this Em bassy in January 1512. Porcacchi.

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But because all the Artillery was not yet A. D. arrived in Romagna, and the Viceroy had stopped at Imola waiting for it, it was thought fit, that the Time might not be wasted without Action, to send Pietro Navarra, General of the Spanish Infantry, to befiege that Fort. But after he had begun to batter it with three Pieces of Cannon, finding that the Conquest would prove more difficult than he had imagined, because it was well fortified, and stoutly defended by a Garrison of an Hundred and Fifty Foot, he ordered two wooden Bridges to be made, that the Soldiers might the more eafily pass the Ditch, which was full of Water. As foon as the Bridges were finished, which was on the third Day of the Siege, and the last of the Year 1511, a fierce Assault was given, and after long and valiant Fighting, the Befiegers scaling the Walls at length mastered Fort of the Place; the Garrison was almost all Genivolo cut to Pieces, with Vestitello the Governor.

NAVARRA left Two Hundred Foot in 1512. this Fort, contrary to the Advice of Gio-wanni Vitelli, who said the Walls were so weakened

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weakened by the Battery of the Cannon, that they could be no more defended before they were repaired. But the General was hardly returned with his Troops to join the Viceroy, when the Duke of Ferrara arrived before the Place with nine Pieces of heavy Cannon, and attacked it with fuch Fury, that this small Fortress being shattered in many Parts, he took it by Storm the same Day, and put the Governor with all the Garrison to the Sword, partly in fighting, and partly afterwards, to revenge the Death of his Men: the Duke himself was hit on the Head with a Stone, but by the Benefit of his Helmet received no Hurt.

Retaken by the Duke of Ferrara.

Number Spanish Forces were all affembled at Imola; of the Spanish and Army formidable both for the Number and Eccle- and the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers. fiattic Ar- For the Troops of the King of Aragon were reported to confist of no less than a Thoufand Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Jenneteers, and Eight Thousand Spanish Foot, among which, besides the Person of the Viceroy, were many Barons of the Kingdom

dom of Naples, of whom the most di- A. D. stinguished Personage for Reputation and 1512. Experience in War was Fabritio Colonna, who had the Title of Commander General, for Prospero Colonna, disdaining to be under the Command of the Viceroy, had refused to go on the Expedition. The Pope had Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Eight Thoufand Foot, under the Command of Marc' Antonio Colonna, Giovanni Vitelli, Malatesta Baglione, Son of Gian Pagolo, Rafaello de' Pazzi, and others, all subject to the Orders of the Cardinal de' Medici the Legate, without any Captain General; for the Duke of Termini, chosen by the Pontiff, because he was a Confidant of the King of Aragon, had died at Civita Castellana as he was coming to the Army; and the Duke of Urbino, who usually commanded in that Quality, was absent, either because it so pleased the Pope, or because he thought it beneath his Dignity to yield Obedience, especially in the Towns of the Church, to the Viceroy as Captain General of the whole Confederate Army.

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A. D. 1512.

WITH these Forces, which were abundantly provided with Artillery, almost all of it brought from the Kingdom of Naples, it was refolved to lay Siege to Bologna, not because they were ignorant that it was a very difficult Undertaking, fince it was eafy for the French to succour the Place, but because there was no other Enterprize in View but what was attended with greater Difficulties and Obstructions; and to keep fuch numerous and fine Troops unemployed, would too plainly argue Timidity; and fuch were the preffing Instances of the Pope, that whoever should propose to his Consideration the Difficulties, would only give him Occasion to believe and lament that he already begun to fee into the Artifices and Frauds of the Spaniards. The Viceroy therefore marched with the Army, and encamped between the River Lidice and Bologna, where after making the necessary Preparations for the Siege of the City, and turning the Course of the Waters in the Canals that are cut from the Rivers Reno and Savano to Bologna, he approached the Walls, extend-

ing the greater Part of the Troops between A. D. 1512. the Mountain and the Road that leads _______ from Bologna to Romagna, because that Quarter lay most convenient for receiving invested his Convoys of Provisions. Between the by the Bridge of Reno fituated on the Roman Road rate Army that goes to Lombardy, and the Gate of San Felice on the same Road, Fabritio Colonna went to post himself with the Vanguard, confisting of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, for the more easily preventing the French from fuccouring the Place on that Side. And that they might have the Command of the Mountains, they posted Part of the Troops in the Monastery of San Michele in Bosco seated on an Eminence very near the City, and commanding it; they took Possession also of the Church of Santa Maria del Monte fituated above the Monastery. In Bologna, befides the People that wore Arms, though perhaps more out of Custom than a warlike Disposition, were some Horse and Foot of the Bentivogli, and Foix had ordered thither Two Thousand German Foot and Two Hundred Lances under VOL. V. Z the

A. D. 1512.

Odet de Foix and Yves d'Alegre, famous Generals, the latter for his long Experience in War, and the other for his noble Blood, and the manifest Signs of Valour and Courage that appeared in his Conduct and Behaviour; there were also two other great Officers, Fajetta, and Vicenzo furnamed the Great Devil. The Befieged, however, had more Dependence on the Succours promifed by Foix than on their own Forces, confidering the great Compass of the City, the Situation of Part of the Mountain by which they were much incommoded, and that there were no other Fortifications but fuch as had been raifed in Haste against the prefent Danger. Many of the Nobility and of the common People were suspected by the Bentivogli, and the Spaniards, of antient Renown (confirmed by their late Attack of the Fort of Genivolo) for their Agility and Dexterity in besieging and forming Towns, were in high Reputa-But their Spirits were revived by the extremely flow Proceedings of the Enemy, who stood nine Days idle about the Walls, without attempting any thing, but planting two Sakers and two Culverins

on the Monastery of San Michele, with A. D. which they fired at random, and without certain Aim, into the City, to annoy the Inhabitants and the Houses. But they foon defifted, finding by Experience that they did little or no Damage to their Enemies, and only wasted their Ammunition to no Purpose. The Cause of this extraordinary Slowness was the Advice they had received, on the Day they first approached the Place, that Foix was advanced to Finale, and was affembling his Forces from all Parts; and it was reported, with great Appearance of Truth, that he was ordered to run all Hazards for the Prefervation of a City, the Loss of which would be very detrimental to his Master's Interest and his own Reputation. Hence it came necessarily to be considered, not only on what Quarter it was most expedient to erect a Battery for the more easy and certain Reducing of the Place, but also how to prevent the French Succours from entering it. It was resolved therefore, in the Various Methods first Council of War, that Fabritio Colonna, proposed being first well furnished with Provisions, for conshould pass about on the other Side of the the Siege.

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Town,

Town, and post himself on the Hill below Santa Maria del Monte; a Situation very convenient for opposing the Entrance of any Forces into Bologna, and yet not fo far distant from the rest of the Army, but that, if any Danger happened, the Troops might be timely relieved; and that at the fame time they should begin, from the Side where they were encamped, or from fome Place not far distant, to batter the Town. The Authors of this Counsel alledged that it was not to be supposed that, fince the Preservation of all that the French possessed in Italy depended on preserving their Army, Foix would make any Attempt, in the Execution of which he might be forced to come to a Battle; or that he ever had it in his Thoughts, even if he knew that he might do it with Security, to employ himself with his whole Army in Bologna, and by that means deprive himself of all Opportunities, whatever Neceffity there might be, of fuccouring the State of Milan; fince he was not entirely fecure of the Movements of the Swifs, but was under greater Apprehensions that it would be invaded by the Venetian Army, which

A. D. 1512.

which was advanced to the Borders of the Veronese, and threatened to attack Brescia. But the next Day these Measures were disapproved by almost all those who had confented to them, on confidering that they could not affure themselves that the French -Army would not come, and if it did come, that the Vanguard alone would be too weak to refift its Force; and that a Resolution fupported by no other Foundation than what lay in the Power of the Enemy to alter or reverse, was by no means to be approved. The Viceroy therefore embraced the Opinion of Pietro Navarra, who communicated it to none but him, and accordingly ordered the Army, after providing themselves with Victuals for five Days, and leaving only a Garrison in the Church of San Michele, to remove to the opposite Part of the City, whence he might prevent the Enemy's Army from entering it, and as the Town was not fortified on that Side, where no Attack was ever apprehended, he might undoubtedly reduce it in five Days. But as foon as this Refolution was made public, there was none that did not openly condemn the Removal of the Army

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A. D. to a Place entirely destitute of Provisions, with which they were supplied only from Romagna, in consequence of which, if they did not accomplish their Defign in five Days, the Army must infallibly be fcattered or destroyed. And who, faid Fabritio Colonna, can absolutely promise himself Success in so short a Time? Who would chuse, in Reliance upon Hopes that are very fallacious in their own Nature, and fubject to many Accidents, expose himself to so many Dangers? And who does not see that if we fail of our Enterprife within the affigned Time, and have in our Front Bologna, where is a numerous People, and many Soldiers, the French at our Backs, and the Peafants our Enemies, it will be impracticable for us to retreat with famished, disordered and dispirited Troops without Ruin and Destruction? Others proposed to add more Foot to the Vanguard, which they would have to be posted beyond Bologna, near the Foot of the Mountain, between the Gates of Saragoza and San Felice, within strong Entrenchments, and to batter the Town on that Side, where it was not only weakest

weakest in Walls and Fortifications, but, by planting some Pieces of Cannon on the Mountain, they could take in Flank those that defended the Breach while they gave the Assault. But this Advice was also rejected as insignificant to prevent the Approach of the French, and also as dangerous, because if this Detachment should happen to be attacked, the Army, tho' it had the Command of the Mountains, could not come to its Relief under three Hours.

In this doubtful Situation, it being easier to reject, and with good Reasons, the Plans proposed by others, than to offer any new ones that would merit Approbation, the Generals at length agreed to attack the Place on that Side where the Army lay encamped; to which they were induced, among other Considerations, because Foix by his long Delays had made them flatter themselves that he would not come at all. They began therefore to level the Ground for bringing the Artillery near the Walls, and recalled the Vanguard to the Camp. But

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the French Troops continually increased at Finale, and their Apprehensions of the Coming of Foix returned, whence began to arise a Variety of new Opinions; for tho' all agreed that if he approached they must find some Means to attack him before he entered Bologna, yet many reprefented that, in fuch a Case, the Removal of the Cannon planted before the Walls Obstacles would occasion many Difficulties and to the En-terprize. Hindrances to the Army, which, in any preffing Emergency, might prove of most dangerous and pernicious Confequence. Others freely remonstrated that it was no less shameful than detrimental to remain fo many Days before the Walls without Action, which at the same time raised the Spirits of the Enemies within the Place, and gave Time to their Friends without to relieve it: They ought not therefore to delay planting the Artillery, but in fuch a Place as that it might conveniently be drawn off; and the Ground must be levelled to fuch a Space, as that the Army might freely move together with the

> Cannon to oppose the French. The Legate

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Legate very heartily espoused the Opinion A. D. of those who advised to begin with battering the Town; for he was tired with fuch Delays, and was not without Suspicion that they were occasioned by the artful Proceeding of the Spaniards in pursuance of Orders from their King; and he was vexed to think that if he had immediately on his first Approach fet about battering the City, he might perhaps by this time have made himself Master of it. He thought it not the best Way to go on multiplying Blunders, by lying before the City in the Posture of Enemies, and at the fame time shewing no Signs of having the Resolution to attack it. And he was every Day stimulated by Expresses and Messages from the Pontiss, and knew no longer what to answer, nor what Excuses to make, for Julius would no more be fed with vain Hopes and Promifes.

THE Viceroy was piqued at this Uneasiness of the Cardinal, and highly refented that a Person not trained up in Arms and military Exercises should be follicitous to make himself the Author of A. D. precipitous Resolutions, not confidering that the Interests of the public in general were under Debate in the present Confultations, and that it was impossible to proceed with fuch Maturity but that greater still was required: It was customary, he faid, for Pontiffs and Republics voluntarily to undertake Wars, but when the Charges and Vexations that attended them grew too heavy upon their Hands, they defired to put an End to them as foon as posible; and that he ought to leave the Refolutions to the Generals, who had the fame Intentions as himfelf, but more Experience in War. At last Pietro Navarra, to whose Judgment the Viceroy paid great Deference, declared his Opinion that in an Affair of fo great Moment they ought not to fpend two or three Days in coming to a Refolution, but continue to make the necessary Provisions for the Siege of Bologna, and for coming to a Battle with the Enemy, in which Step they were to regulate their Proceedings by the Motions of the French. There did not appear for two Days any Grounds for taking a better Resolution, for Foix, who

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who had reduced Cento, la Pieve, and many Castles in the Bolognese, continued still encamped at Finale, intent on affembling his Troops, which being quartered in feveral Places, and the Foot which he had lifted marching but flowly, it required fome Time to get them together. As there was then no apparent Reason for any longer deferring the Attack, a Battery was at last erected against the Walls, Bologna at the Distance of about Thirty Braces besieged. from the Gate of San Stefano, which leads to Florence, where the Wall in turning towards the Gate called Castiglione, which looks towards the Mountain, forms an Angle. At the fame time Pietro Navarra was employed in constructing a Mine more towards the Gate of Castiglione, at that Part of the Wall within which stands a little Chapel called Baracana, with an Intent that, by giving the Affault in two Places at once, the Besieged being divided might find it more difficult to make Resistance than if they were united, and had only one Place to defend. Besides, not to abandon all Care of opposing the French, the Vanguard was ordered

A. D. dered to reposses themselves of their former Post. The Cannon in one Day ruined little less than One Hundred Braces of Wall, and the Turret of the Gate was so shattered that it was rendered defenceless, and the Besieged abandoned it; so that an Affault might have been conveniently given on that Part, had not the Befiegers waited till the Mine which was begun should be perfected and ready to fpring, tho' the Rashness of the Soldiers had almost hurried them on in a disorderly Manner to storm the Place on the same Day. For some Spanish Foot having mounted by a Ladder to a Hole made in the Turret, descended from thence into a little House adjoining to the Wall on the Infide, where was no Guard. This being perceived by others of their Comrades, they would almost all of them have hurried thither in tumultuous Diforder, had not the Officers, alarmed by the Noise. ran in all Haste and prevented them. And the Besieged having pointed a Cannon against those that were got within, destroyed Part of them, and the rest fled out of a Place into which they had inconfiderately

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confiderately entered. While the Mine A. D. was preparing the Army was employed in making wooden Bridges, and providing Heaps of Fascines for filling the Ditches, that the Foot might approach the Breaches as it were on plain Ground. They fired also with some Pieces of Cannon upon the Ruins of the Wall, to prevent the Befieged from lodging themselves there for defending them when the Assault should be given. The French Officers feeing these Preparations, and finding that the People began to be intimidated, immediately fent to demand Succours of Foix. That General the same Day ordered thither a Thousand Foot, and the next Day sent an Hundred and Eighty Lances; by which Proceeding he begat a firm Belief in the Enemy that he had refolved to advance no farther; for it did not appear probable that, if he had any other Intention, he would have fent off Part of his Forces: And indeed fuch was his real Defign; for judging the Reinforcements he had fent sufficient to defend Bologna, he did not chuse to try the Fortune of a Battle without Neceffity. The Mine at last being finished,

and

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A. D. and the Army drawn up in Order for immediately giving the Assault, for prosecuting of which with greater Force the Vanguard was recalled, the fame was fprung, and with a horrible Noise and Violence lifted up the Chapel and the Wall in fuch a Manner, that through the

a Mine.

Effect of Space between the Ground and the Wall thus heaved up, those that were without had an open View of the City within, and of the Soldiers as they stood prepared to defend it. But the Wall immediately finking down returned found and entire to the very fame Place whence the Violence of the Powder had forced it, and with all its Parts as firmly connected as if it had never been moved. The Affault thus being impracticable on that Side, the Generals did not think fit to give it on the other Side alone. The Bolognese ascribed this Accident to a Miracle, thinking it impossible for a Wall to be exactly reunited to the fame Foundations without the Interpolition of the divine Power. Hence that Chapel came to be afterwards enlarged, and frequented with no small Devotion by the People.

THIS

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THIS Success inclined Foix, who was now no longer under Apprehensions for Bologna, to march towards Brescia, because he had received Intelligence that the Venetian Army was in Motion towards that City, for which he was under no small Concern, as it was left but ill provided on account of the Danger of Bologna, and he was not without Suspicions of a secret Confpiracy among the Inhabitants of the Place. But the Intreaties of the Officers that were in Bologna, fometimes representing to him that the Danger of that City would be greater than it was before, if he marched off, fometimes giving him Hopes that his Entrance into the Place would constrain the Enemy to raise the Siege, made him alter his Resolution. In pursuance of this Change of Meafures, though contrary to the Opinion of almost all the General Officers, he decamped from Finale towards the Close of the Evening, and, marching with all his Army in Order of Battle through Snows and very sharp Winds, the next Morning two Hours after Day-break he entered by the Gate of San Felice into Bologna,

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Bologna relieved by Foix.

logna, having with him Thirteen Hundred Lances, Six Thousand German Foot, all which were placed in the Vanguard, and Eight Thousand Foot between French and Italians. After Foix had entered Bologna a Council was held, in which it was proposed to attack the Enemy the next Morning in their Camp, for which End the Soldiers were to fally forth at three Gates, and the People to take the Way of the Mountain. They would have found them unapprised of their Arrival, fince it is certain that their Commanders had not. during that Day and the greatest Part of the next, received the least Notice of it. But Yves d'Alegre advised that the Troops, which were greatly fatigued by the Difficulties of the March, should be allowed a Day to rest themselves, not imagining, neither he nor any one elfe, that fo great an Army could, in the Day-time by the Roman Road, enter into a City which they were besieging without their Knowledge. And perhaps they would have continued in Ignorance another Day, if they had not happened to take a Greek Stradiot, who with some other Horse had sallied forth to fkirmifh.

skirmish. This Prisoner being asked A. D. what was doing in Bologna, answered that 1512. they were not to expect the least Light from him, for he was arrived there but the Day before with the French Army. On this he was interrogated with wonderful Care and Sollicitude by the General Officers, who finding him constant in his Answers believed what he faid to be Truth. A Resolution therefore was taken to raife the Siege, it being concluded that, as the Soldiers suffered greatly by the Severity of the Season, and from the Neighbourhood of the City, into which had entered fuch an Army, it was not fafe to continue in their present Station. On the next Night therefore, which followed the Siege of 19th Day of the Siege, they filently drew Rologna raifed. off their Cannon, and the Army was very early in the Morning on its March for Imola, the Troops taking their Way thro' the Ground they had levelled when they came, and that lay on each Side of the main Road thro' which they drew their Artillery; and, having placed the Flower of the Forces in the Rear, they marched off in great Security. For none of the Enemy fallied out VOL. V. Aa of

THE HISTORY OF

370 A. D. of Bologna but some French Horse, who having plundered Part of the Ammunition and Provisions, and by that means beginning to fall into Disorder, were not without Loss repulsed within the Gates by Malatesta Baglione who brought up the Rear of the Army.

> THE Siege being thus raised, Foix leaving Three Hundred Lances and Four Thousand Foot for the Security of Bologna, immediately fet out with all possible Speed to relieve the Castle of Brescia, for the City was fallen into the Hands of the Venetians on the Day preceding that on which he made his Entrance into Bologna. For Andrea Gritti, by Orders of the Senate, which had been stimulated by Count Luigi Avogaro, a Nobleman of Brefcia, and by almost all the Inhabitants of the Country, as also by the Hopes of an Insurrection in that City by the Influence of that Nobleman, taking with him Three Hundred Men at Arms, Thirteen Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, pasfed the River Adice to Albere, a Place in the Neighbourhood of Lignago, and afterwards

afterwards forded the Mincio at the Mill on the bending of the River between Goito and Valeggio; from whence he proceeded to Montechiaro, and quartered that Night at Castagnetolo, a Village five Miles from Brescia, whence he ordered his light Horse to make a fudden Excursion up to the very Gates. Count Luigi, while all the Country were crying up the Name of San Marco, approached a Gate with Eight Hundred Men of the Valleys of Eutropia and Sabia, where he had excited an Infurrection, and ordered his Son with another Party to approach the Gates on the other Side of the City. But Andrea Gritti not being received within the Walls as he expected, and none of the Signals being made which had been appointed, and understanding also that the City was diligently guarded in all Parts, thought it best to proceed no farther; and in the mean time the Son of Avogaro was attacked by a Party of the Garrison, and taken Prisoner. Gritti retired to Montagnana, whence he had first fet out, leaving a sufficient Guard at the Bridge which he had laid over the Adice. But in a few Days being recalled, he re-Aa2 passed

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passed the Adice with two Pieces of Cannon and four Falconets, and posted himself at Castagnetolo, Count Luigi with a vast Number of Peasants of those Valleys approaching at the same time within a Mile of Brescia. And though there was no Appearance from the City of any thing likely to favour their Defign, yet Gritti being invited by a greater Concourse of People than he was the Time before, refolved to make an Attempt to force the Town. Approaching therefore the Walls with all the Peafants, he attacked them in three different Places at once; and though he was repulsed at the Gate of the Tower, he had better Success at the Gate of the Piles where Avogaro commanded, and at the Gate called the Garzula, where the Soldiers, led by Baldassarre di Scipione, entered, as fome fay, by the Iron Grate through which the River, which is also called Garzula, enters the Town*. The French refisted as well as they could, but feeing that the Enemies were got into the City, and that the Brescians, who had before

City of Brescia taken by the Venetians.

^{*} Or, in other Words, the Soldiers entered Brescia by the common Shore of the River Garzula, as Giovio expresses it.

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been prohibited by them from taking A. D. Arms, and had stood very quiet, began to stir in their Favour, they retired with the Sieur de Lude, the Governor, into the Castle, with the Lofs of their Horses and Baggage. In the Tumult that Part which is called the little City, being separated from the rest of the City, and almost wholly inhabited by Ghibellines, was plundered, but the Houses of the Guelfs were spared.

THE Acquisition of Brescia was soon followed by the Surrender of Bergamo, by means of some of the Citizens, except the two Castles, one of which stands in the Middle of the City, the other half a Mile distant from it. The Towns of Orci Vecchi, Orci Nuovi, Ponte Vico, and many others in the circumjacent Country followed the Example of Bergamo; and the Venetians would, perhaps, have made a greater Progress, or at least have better established their Acquisitions, had they been as careful at Venice, where the Rejoicings were incredible, to fend Troops and Artillery for reducing the Castle of Brescia, which was in no Condition to Aa3 make

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make much Refistance, as they were to create and fend Magistrates to govern the recovered Towns. But the Damage which they received by their Negligence, was in proportion to the vast Diligence and Expedition of M. de Foix. That General having passed the Po at Stellata detached an Hundred and Fifty Lances and Five Hundred French Foot for the Security of Ferrara; after which he croffed the Mincio at the Bridge of the Mill, fending, while he was passing, to ask Leave of the Marquis of Mantoua to pass, either because by the Suddenness of the Demand he would leave no Room for Confultation, or that the News of his March might be the longer in reaching the Venetians. From thence he arrived the next Day at Nugara in the Veronese, and the Day following at Ponte Pefere and at Treville three Miles from la Scala, where receiving Intelligence that Gian Pagolo Baglione, who had escorted some Venetian Troops and Artillery to Brescia; was arrived from Castel Franco with Three Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horfe, and Twelve Hundred Foot, to take up his Quarters at Ifola

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Isola della Scala, he immediately set out in Haste to attack them with Three Hundred Lances and Seven Hundred Archers, the rest of the Army, which could not keep Pace with them, being ordered to follow; but finding that the Enemy had left the Place an Hour before, he followed them with the fame Expedition. Gian Pagolo had received Advice that Bernardino dal Montone, who was appointed to guard the Bridge at Albere, had, on Notice of the Approach of the French, broken it down for fear of being inclosed by them and by the Germans that were in Verona, whither Cæfar (who was freed from the Charge of Friuli, which, except Gradisca, was all returned under the Dominion of the Venetians) had a little before fent Three Thousand Foot, who had been employed in that Province. Gian Pagolo therefore would have gone to Brefcia, had he not been acquainted that a little below Verona the River was fordable. Here, as he was on his March in order to pass it, he discovered at a good Distance Foix, who by his incredible Expedition had prevented the Fame of his Approach, and imagining that Aa4

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A. D. that he faw no other than Part of the Troops that were in Verona, he drew up his Men in Order of Battle, and with a firm Refolution expected the Enemy at the Tower of Magnanino, near the Adice, and at a small Distance from the Tower of la Scala. The first Encounter with Lances was very fierce on both Sides, after which they betook themselves to their other Weapons, and fought valiantly for above an Hour, but still more and more to the Disadvantage of the Venetians, because their Enemies were continually reinforced by Parties from their Army that had remained behind; they rallied however feveral Times after they had been broken and put into Disorder. At length being over-Venetians powered by Numbers, they were totally routed and put to Flight, and Night coming on purfued to the River, which Gian Pagolo safely passed, but many of his Men were drowned. Of the Venetians were killed or taken about Ninety Men at Arms, among whom Guido Rangone and Baldafsarre Signorello da Perugia remained Prisoners; the Foot were scattered, and two Falconets, which were all they had,

were

defeated by Gafton de Foix.

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were taken; the Loss of the French was A. D. very inconfiderable. The next Day they met Meleagro da Forli with some Venetian light Horse, who were easily put to Flight, and Meleagro was taken Prisoner.

Forx loft no Time, but on the ninth Day after he had quitted Bologna, took Post with his Vanguard in the Suburbs of Brescia, two Bowshots from the Gate of Torre Lunga; the rest of his Army kept more behind along the Road that leads to Peschiera. As soon as he was posted, without giving himself Time to breathe, he fent Part of his Foot to attack the Monastery of San Fridiano, which is seated half way up the Hill under which he had his Quarters, and was guarded by a Number of Peasants of the Valley of Eutropia. The Soldiers mounted the Hill at feveral Places, and being favoured by a great Shower of Rain that prevented the Firing of the Cannon planted on the Monastery, they broke in and put Part of the Garrison to the Sword. The next Day Foix fent a Trumpet to demand the Surrender of the City, on condition of Safety to the Persons 378

mating

diers.

A. D. and Effects of all that were in it, except the Venetians. But a resolute Answer being returned in the Presence of Andrea Gritti, the General led about his Army to the other Part of the City, that he might be near the Castle, and posted himself in the Suburb of the Gate called San Gianni. The next Morning, as foon as it was Day, he chose out of all the Army above Four Hundred Men at Arms, clad all in white Armour, and dismounted, and Six Thoufand Foot, Part Galcons Part Germans; then, putting himself also on foot, he mounted at the Side towards the Gate of the Piles, and entered the first Precinct of the Castle without Opposition. Here, after they had rested and refreshed themselves awhile, he animated them in a short Speech to descend undauntedly into that very rich and opulent City, where the Honour and the Plunder would without Comparison be Foix's ani-greater than the Fatigue and the Danger.

Words to They were to encounter, he faid, with his Sol-Venetian Soldiers, who were manifeftly inferior to them both in Number and Valour; for no Account must be made of a Multitude of People unexperienced in War,

and

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and already meditating on Means to escape without hazarding their Lives; but it was rather to be expected that by their Cowardice and Indifcretion they would be the Cause of throwing all the rest into Disorder and Confusion. Lastly, he intreated them, as Men selected by himself for the bravest out of so flourishing an Army, to do nothing that might bring Shame upon themfelves, or upon his Judgment of them; and to confider how highly dishonourable and difgraceful it would be for Men who made a Profession of entering by Force into an Enemy's City against Soldiers, against Cannon, and against Walls and Fortifications, to be miserably disappointed of their Hopes on the present Occasion, when the Entrance lay open, and they would meet with no Opposition but only from Men. Immediately upon these Words he began to move from the Castle, his Foot marching before the Men at Arms. going out they found fome of the Enemy's Infantry provided with Artillery, who endeavoured to stop their Passage, but were eafily forced to retire; after which they resolutely descended by that Quarter into the

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A. D. the Square before the Palace of the General, which they call il Burletto, where the Troops of the Venetians were drawn up in close Order, and expected them with great Intrepidity. They fell immediately to close Fight, and the Battle was for a long Time very furious and terrible, one Party fighting for Self-preservation, the other not only for Glory, but for the Plunder of a City full of Riches, the Generals also combating with no less Ardor and Fierceness than the common Soldiers, and Foix in particular giving eminent Proofs of his fierce Courage and Valour. At last the Venetian Troops were driven out of the Square after a wonderful Defence, and the Conquerors dividing themselves into two Parties, one entered by the City, the gained by other by the little City, but were stoutly refisted by the Soldiers and People in almost every Street and Corner. The French were however victorious every where, and pushed their Enemies before them, none falling to plunder till they were in poffession of the whole Town, for such were the Orders of the General before they be-

gan the Attack, and whoever transgressed

them

City re-Foix and facked.

them was immediately killed by his Comrades. In these Encounters the French lost a great Number of Foot, and not a few of their Men at Arms; but of their Enemies were killed about Eight Thousand Men, partly of the People, partly Venetian Soldiers, the Number of whom before the Action was Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot; among these Federigo Contareno, Proveditor of the light Horse, was killed by a Musket Shot in the Square, and all the rest were taken, except Two Hundred Stradiotti, who escaped by a Postern near the Gate of San Nazzaro, but met with little better Fortune than their Fellows, for falling among a Part of the French Army that had remained without the Town, they were almost all killed or taken. These Frenchmen after this entered the Town without any Difficulty by the same Gate, and fell to plunder with the rest, thus reaping the Fruits of the Labours and Dangers of their Companions. There remained Prisoners Andrea Gritti, Antonio Justiniano, fent by the Senate to be Governor of that City, Gian Pagolo Manfrone and his Son,

the

A. D. the Chevalier della Volpe, Baldassarre di Scipione, a Son of Antonio de' Pii, Count Luigi Avogaro with one of his Sons, and Domenico Buseco General of the Stradiotti. In the Pillage the Honour of the Nunneries was preserved inviolate by the Orders of Foix, but the Goods and the Perfons that had fled thither for Refuge became a Prey to the Officers. Count Luigi was beheaded in the open Square, Foix himself being present, and satiating his Eyes with the Spectacle; and his two Sons, though for the present reprieved, not long after suffered the fame Punishment. Thus fell Brescia into this miserable Calamity and Destruction by the Hands of the French, from whom its Inhabitants boast their Defcent; and fuch was the fad Fate of that City which for Nobleness and Dignity was not inferior to any City in Lombardy, but in Riches, excepting Milan, superior to them all. For feven Days together was this unhappy Place left exposed to the Avarice, Luft, and Cruelty of the Soldiers, who made havock of all Things facred and profane, while the Lives and Honours of the Citizens as well as their Goods

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Goods lay at their Mercy and Discretion. A. D. By these Exploits M. de Foix acquired vast 1512. Renown throughout Christendom, as a Commander deserving the highest Encomiums for having, by his Valour and Expedition, in the Space of fifteen Days, constrained the Ecclefiastic and Spanish Army to raise the Siege of Bologna, defeated in Battle Gian Pagolo Baglione with Part of the Venetian Forces, and recovered Brescia with such a mighty Slaughter of the Soldiers and Inhabitants; fo that it was the Opinion of all who were Judges that Italy had not, for feveral Ages, feen fuch a rapid Train of Success in military Operations.

AFTER the Recovery of Brescia and the other loft Towns, among which Bergamo, having revolted only at the Instigation of a few Persons, had, before Foix entered Brescia, publicly recalled the French, the General spent some Time in fettling the Affairs of those Quarters, and in repofing and reducing to Order the Troops, which were greatly fatigued by their long and laborious Services, and fallen into Disorder. A. D. Disorder, some of them in securing, others in sharing the Plunder. After this he refolved, in Obedience to the King's Orders, to march against the Army of the League, which, after retiring from the Walls of Bologna, had taken up their Quarters in the Bolognese. The King was obliged to take this Step for feveral very important Reasons, which laid him under a Necesfity of entring on new Measures for the Security of his own States. For it began manifestly to appear that he could not avoid a War with the King of England, because though that Prince had at first in plain Words denied, and afterwards in dubious Expressions dissembled his Design, yet his Actions, which by no means agreed with his Speeches, could not but discover his real Intentions, fince there were Advices from Rome that the Instrument by which that King acceded to the League was at last arrived there. It was known that in England Preparations were making of Men and Ships, and a Fleet was equipping in Spain to be fent to England, and the Minds of the English in general were very much fet on carrying on a War in France.

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France. It happened also very seasonably that the Pope's Galeas was arrived, laden with Greek Wines, Cheese and Sweetmeats, as a Present from his Holiness to the King and feveral of the Lords and Prelates, and received by all with wonderful Demonstrations of Joy, the whole Populace, which is wont to be affected with gaudy Vanities no less than with Things of Importance, crouding with high Satisfaction to the delightful Sight, and boasting that they faw, what was never before feen in their Island, a Ship under the Pontifical Flag. At last the Bishop of Moravia, who had fo long carried on a Treaty between the Pope and the King of France, induced either by Conscience or by a Defire of the Cardinalship, made, before a Parliament of the whole Kingdom, a full Declaration, and gave ample Testimonies of the Justice of the Pope's Cause. It was resolved then by that Assembly to send Prelates to represent that Kingdom in the Lateran Council; and the King, at the Instances of the Pope's Ambassadors, gave Orders for the French Ambassador to depart, fince it was not convenient that near VOL. V. Bb the

A. D. the Person of a King, and in a Kingdom most devoted to the Church, should be feen the Representative of a Prince who so War breaks out openly perfecuted the Apostolic See. And between now it came to be discovered that, by a pri-England and vateAgreement, the King of England had en-France. gaged to fit out a Fleet for infesting the maritime Parts of Normandy and Bretany, and to fend into Spain Eight Thousand Foot, for making War, in Conjunction with the Forces of the King of Aragon, in the Dutchy of Guyenne. The King of France was extremely uneafy under these Apprehenfions, because the Name of the English was dreadful to his Subjects from the Memory of their old Wars, and he was fenfible that the Danger must be greater from the Conjunction of their Arms with those of the Spaniards, and the more to be apprehended because he had sent all his Men at Arms, except Two Hundred Lances, into Italy. If he should recall them, either in whole or in part, his beloved Dutchy of Milan would be exposed to manifest Danger; and though he had newly increased his standing Troops with Eight Hundred Lances, yet with what Confidence could

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he, in so dangerous a Juncture, rely on Men unexperienced in War, and but just taken into his Service?

His Fears were further aggravated by his Jealoufy, which every Day increased, of Cæfar's detaching himself from his Alliance; for though Andrea de Burgo, who had been fent to that Prince with mighty Expectations, was returned, and had made his Report that Cafar was disposed to obferve the Confederacy, yet he offered very hard Conditions, intermixed with various Cæsar's Complaints. For he demanded Security of the for his being put in Poffession of all that King of belonged to him by the Articles of Cam-France. bray, protesting he could no longer trust to bare Promifes, fince he knew, from the Beginning and ever afterwards, that the King would be very uneafy at his Acquifition of Padoua; and that to waste and exhaust, and to harrass him with perpetual Labours and Difficulties, he had freely spent Two Hundred Thousand Ducats yearly, because he knew that it would press harder upon his Necessities to be obliged at the same time to spend Fifty B b 2 Thousand:

A. D.

Thousand: That he had refused the last Year to fuffer Trivulzio to enter into his Service, because he was a General qualified by his Affection to the Cause, and by military Knowledge would have put a speedy End to the War. He demanded also the King's fecond Daughter, not yet two Years old, to be espoused to his Grandson with Burgundy in Dowry, and that she should immediately be delivered to him: That the Causes of Ferrara, Bologna, and the Council should be referred to his sole Determination: That the French Army should not advance towards Rome; and protested also that he could by no means fuffer the King to enlarge his Dominions in any Part of These Conditions, though very Italy. grievous and almost intolerable in themfelves, were still rendered much harder by knowing that there was no Security that they would not be altered as Occasion ferved, or according to the fickle Cuftom of that Prince. But the Iniquity of the Conditions proposed was rather a manifest Argument that, having refolved to break off his Alliance with the King of France, he was willing to find some plausible Pretence

King of France perplex'd.

3.80 A. D.

tence for putting it in Execution; especially fince feveral Marks of an evil Difposition might be discerned, not only in his Words but also in his Actions. For no Proxies, as had been fo often promifed, were fent with Burgo, in order to repair to the Pisan Council; on the contrary, tho' the Convocation of Prelates in Ausburg had at last publicly decreed that the Pisan Council was schismatic and detestable; they had added this moderate Clause that they were ready to change their Opinion on the Evidence of more effectual Reasons to the contrary And yet the King of France, notwithstanding this Usage, at a Time when he had most Occasion to unite all his Forces, was conftrained, at the Request of Cæsar, to keep Two Hundred Lances and Three Thousand Foot in Verona, and a Thousand Foot to garrison Lignago. Besides, the King was under great Anxiety of Mind for fear of the Swifs; for though he was permitted to fend the Bailif of Amiens to their Diet with a most ample Commission, having prudently refolved (if those Resolutions can be called prudent which are taken after the Oppor-B b 3 tunities

A. D. tunities in which they can be of any Service are past) to spare no Sums of Money for regaining their Friendship, yet the very ardent Hatred of the common People, and the efficacious Perfuafions of the Cardinal of Sion, prevailing over the Authority of those who had from Diet to Diet prevented them from taking any Refolution contrary to the King's Interest, it was perceived that they were inclined to grant a Body of Six Thousand Foot for the Service of the Confederates, who had demanded them in order to oppose them to the firm and well disciplined Battalions of the German Infantry. Under all these Apprehensions the King found himfelf besides entirely deprived of all Hopes of an Agreement, tho' the Cardinal of Nantz, and the Cardinal of Strigonia, a very powerful Prelate of the Kingdom of Hungary, had never omitted treating about it during the Heat of the War. For the Pope peremptorily answered that he would hearken to no Terms till the Pisan Conventicle was abolished, and the Church put in Possesfion of her Cities of Bologna and Ferrara. Nor did he shew less Severity in his Actions,

Actions, for he had lately degraded many French Prelates who had affifted at that Council, and Filippo Decio, one of the most excellent Lawyers of that Age, because he had written and disputed for the Justice of that Cause, and had attended the Cardinals as their Counsellor for the Direction of their Proceedings according to Law. Nor had the King in the midst of those Difficulties and Dangers that threatened him from fo many Quarters, any firm or fure Support in any Part of Italy, For the States of Ferrara and Bologna had been and still were vexatious and expensive to him; and from the Florentines, with whom he had renewed his Instances that they would join with him in attacking Romagna, he could draw none but general Answers; nay, he had some Suspicion of their Inclinations, because an Ambassador from the Viceroy of Naples constantly resided at Florence, and much more because they had sent an Ambassador to the Catholic King, and no longer communicated their Affairs to him as usual; but most of all because when he had sollicited them to prolong the League, which B b 4 would

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A. D. would expire within a few Months, without demanding any Money or any other burdensome Obligation from them, they went on temporifing, that they might be at Liberty to chuse what Party they should at that Time judge best suited to their Interest. The Pope willing to cherish this Disposition in the Florentines, that he might not, by an Excess of Severity, induce them to employ their Arms in favour of the King of France, granted them, without their demanding it in the Name of the Public, Absolution from their Censures, and fent Giovanni Gozzadini, a Bolognese, and one of the Clerks of the Apostolic Chamber, as his Nuncio, to Florence, with gracious Offers, endeavouring by all means to alleviate the Suspicions they had conceived of him.

THE King then finding himself alone against so many either declared Enemies or ready to declare against him, and knowing that it would be very difficult for him to withstand their united Attacks, commanded Foix to march with all Speed against the Enemy's Army, promising himself

himself the Victory from the Superiority of A. D. his Forces. The General was to make no Scruple of attacking Rome and the Pontiff; for if he succeeded the King thought he might look upon himfelf as delivered out of his great Dangers. And the better to justify, and lessen the Scandal of such an Enterprise, it was to be undertaken by the Authority of the Pisan Council, which was to depute a Legate to attend the Army, and receive the conquered Towns in their Name. Foix therefore, pursuant to his Orders, marched from Brescia, and arrived at Finale, where he halted some Days to make a Magazine of Provisions, which were brought from Lombardy, and to affemble all the Forces which the King had in Italy except the necessary Garrisons, and also on account of the very rainy Sea-From hence he proceeded to San Giorgio in the Bolognese, where he received fome new Reinforcements from France, confisting of a Thousand Gascon Foot, a Thousand Volunteers, and a Thousand Picards; these last were choice Troops, and in great Esteem among the French; so that the real Number of the Troops was Five Thousand

A. D. 1512. of the French Army.

Thousand German Foot, Five Thousand Gascons, and Eight Thousand Italians and Number French, and Sixteen Thousand Lances including Two Hundred Gentlemen*. This Army was to be joined by the Duke of Ferrara with an Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horse, and a numerous Train of very good Artillery, for Foix had left his own at Finale, being prevented from conveying it by Land by the Difficulty of the Roads. At the same time was on his Way to the Army the Cardinal of San Severino, who was appointed by the Council Legate of Bologna; a Cardinal of a fierce and daring Spirit, and more inclined to the Exercise of Arms than to facerdotal Offices and Contemplations. All Things being thus fettled, Foix directed his March towards the Enemy, with an eager Defire of coming to a Battle, to which he was more and more stimulated by the Orders of his King, as well as by the Ferocity of his natural Temper, and by a Thirst after Glory, which was the more inflamed by his late happy Successes. He was not however

^{*} Of the Dutchy of Milan.

fo far transported with this Ardor, as to A. D. have it in his Thoughts to attack the Enemy rashly and at a Disadvantage, but to approach their Camp, and to try whether they were willing to venture an Engagement in a Place where the Situation would give them no Advantage over him, or else by intercepting their Convoys of Provisions to reduce them to a Necessity of fighting. But far different were the Defigns of the Enemy, whose Army, after the Duke of Urbino's Regiment had left them under Pretence of some Difference that arose, was reported to consist of Four-Number teen Hundred Men at Arms, a Thousand of the light Horse, and Seven Thousand Spanish rate Army Foot, befides Three Thousand Italians newly levied. For imagining the French, besides their Superiority in Number, to have a more valiant Cavalry, they did not think it fafe to hazard a Battle on equal Ground, at least before the Arrival of Six Thousand Swifs, whom the Cantons had lately confented to grant, and the Cardinal of Sion and twelve Agents of that Nation were gone to Venice to treat about listing them at the common Expence of the

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the Pope and the Venetians. These Reafons were enforced by the King of Aragon, who, both by Letters and proper Persons, fignified his Resolution that they should avoid as much as possible a Battle; for his Hopes principally depended on what the French King chiefly dreaded, which was, to spin out the Time by standing on the Defensive till the King of England and himself should begin a War in France, which would oblige that King to recall all or the greater Part of his Forces beyond the Mountains, and confequently the War in Italy would be finished without Blood or Danger. For the same Reason he would even at the Beginning have prevented the Attempt on Bologna, had he not been fatigued by the Instances and vexatious Complaints of the Pope.

Proceed-Confederate Armies.

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THE Viceroy therefore and the other ings of the Generals had resolved always to encamp Frenchand near the French Army for the Defence of the Cities of Romagna, and to prevent the Enemy from opening themselves a Way for marching to Rome; and continually to post themselves in places so strong, either

by

by Situation or by having a large Town A. D. behind them, that they could not be attacked but with very great Disadvantage, thinking it no Difgrace to retire as often as there should be Occasion; but judging, as military Men ought, that they were not to be attentive to Reports or outward Appearances, but principally to obtain the Victory, which would undoubtedly be followed by Reputation, Glory, and Praises from the Public. Pursuant to this Resolution, on the Day that the French encamped at Castel Guelfo and Medicina, the Confederates, who were encamped near these Places, retired under the Walls of Imola. The next Day the French advanced within a Mile and half of Imola, but the Enemies keeping their Place in Order of Battle, not chusing to attack them under so great Disadvantage, they passed more forwards, and their Vanguard encamped at Bubano, a Castle four Miles diftant from Imola, and the other Divisions of their Army at Mordano and Bagnara, Towns a little above a Mile distant from one another, chufing to encamp in the main Road for the Convenience of Provisions.

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t \$12.

visions, which were fafely conveyed from the River Po, because Lugo, Bagnacavallo, and the circumjacent Towns had been abandoned by the Spaniards as foon as Foix entered the Bolognese, and were returned under Obedience to the Duke of Ferrara*. On the Day following the Spaniards marched to Caftel Bolognese, leaving a sufficient Garrison in the Castle of Imola, and Sixty Men at Arms under Giovanni Saffatello in the Town, encamping on the main Road, and extending themselves towards the Mountain. And on the fame Day the French took by Storm the Castle of Solarolo, and had surrendered to them Cotignuola and Granarolo, where they rested the next Day, their Enemies halting at a Place called il Campo alle Mofche+. In these little Shiftings of Places and Situations the Armies came fo near

^{*} De Foix from Brescia went to Reggio, and from thence to wait on the Duke of Ferrara, where he indulged himself for some Days in Pleasures, and afterwards proceeded from Town to Town till he arrived at the City of Ferrara, making a Show of spending his Time in Feasts and Banqueting, while he was really intent on assembling his Troops with the utmost Speed for entering upon Action. Anselmi.

⁺ i. e. the Field of Flies.

one another that they stood in Order of A. D. Battle with their Artillery before them, 1512. and their Faces turned one to another as if they were every Minute to join Battle; yet both of them proceeded with the utmost Circumspection and Order, one not to be compelled to fight except in a Place where the Advantage of Situation would counterballance the Inequality of Numbers and Strength, and the other to reduce their Enemies to a Necessity of fighting, but in fuch a Manner as that their Superiority of Force might not at the fame time be controlled by the Dlfadvantage of the Place. In these Quarters Foix received fiesh Orders from the King his Master to hasten a Battle, the same Reafons which had at first induced him to give Directions for that Purpose becoming more urgent, because the Venetians, though weakened by their Misfortune at Brescia, and very much pressed, first by the Intreaties and afterwards by Protestations and Menaces, of the Pope and the King of Aragon, having refused to make Peace with Cæfar unless he consented that they should retain Vicenza, had at last made a Truce

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A. D. Truce with him in the Pope's Presence for eight Months; that each Part should keep what they had in Possession, and that the Venetians should pay unto Cæsar Fifty Thoufand Rhenish Florins. Hence the King no longer doubted but that Maximilian had deferted him, and was at the same time certified that he was to expect a War against his Dominions on the other Side of the Mountains. For Gieronimo Cabaviglia, the Spanish Ambassador at his Court, having defired an Audience of the King in full Council, fignified to his Most Christian Majesty that he was ordered by the King his Master to take his Leave, and in his Name to exhort his Majesty to desist from favouring the Tyrants of Bologna against the Church, and from disturbing, in so unjust a Cause, a Peace of so much Importance, and so beneficial to the Christian Commonwealth; offering him, if he were apprehensive of receiving any Damage by the Restitution of Bologna, to secure him by all the Methods he himself could defire; adding at last that he could not dispense with himfelf from defending the Church, as it was the Duty of every Christian Prince.

A. D. 1512.

DE FOIX now affuring himself that it was to no Purpose to keep near the Enemy, because, by the Conveniencies which they received from the Towns of Romagna, it would be very difficult to intercept their Convoys of Provisions, and impossible to force them to a Battle but under great Difadvantage; and finding also that his Army fuffered in their Quarters for Want of Victuals, resolved, with the Advice of his General Officers, to lay Siege to Ravenna, Siege of in hopes that the Enemy would not fuffer a City of fuch Importance to be lost before their Eyes, to the great Diminution of their Reputation, and confequently give him an Opportunity of engaging them on equal Ground. And lest the Enemy, on conjecturing his Defign, should approach with their Army for covering Ravenna, he posted himself between Cotignuola and Granarolo, feven Miles distant from them. where he stayed four Days waiting for twelve Cannon and as many smaller Pieces of Artillery from Ferrara. The Enemy gueffing his Intention dispatched away to Ravenna Marc' Antonio Colonna, who before VOL. V.

A. D. fore he consented to go took care that the Legate, the Viceroy, Fabritio, Pietro Navarra, and all the other General Officers, should every one of them pass their Word of Honour, that if he should be belieged by the French they would march with the whole Army to his Relief. With Marc' Antonio went Sixty Men at Arms of his own Regiment, Pietro da Castro with an Hundred light Horse, and Sallazart and Parades with Six Hundred Spanish Foot. The rest of the Army encamped under the Walls of Faenza at the Gate that leads to Ravenna, in which Station they had a great Skirmish with the Enemy. At this Time Foix fent an Hundred Lances and Fifteen Hundred Foot to take the Castle of Russ, which had no other Garrison than the Men of the Place, who though at first, according to the Custom of the common People, they made a Shew of greater Boldness and Resolution, yet their Hearts foon failing, they began to treat of furrenderering on the same Day they were invested. During the Parley the French feeing the People negligent of their Guard violently entered the Place, and plundered it, puting to the Sword above Two Hundred

dred Men, and making the rest Pri- A. D. From Russi Foix came before Ravenna, and the next Day took up his Quarters near the Walls in the Space between the two Rivers, in the Middle of which that City is fituated. These Rivers have their Rife in the Apennine Mountains, where they separate Romagna from Tuscany; one of them, now called Ronco, was the Vitis of the Antients; the other named Montone is celebrated for being the first of the Rivers, except the Po, that rifes from the left Side of the Apennine, and falls into the Sea without ever lofing its Name. Between these two Rivers is seated the City of Forli, the Montone on the left Hand almost touching the Walls, the Ronco on the Right running at the Distance of two Miles. But when they come near to Ravenna they converge in fuch a Manner as to pass close under its Walls one on each Side, below which they mix their Waters, and enter the Sea, which is at prefent three Miles distant from the City, but formerly, as it is reported, washed its Walls. The French Army encamped on the Space between the two Rivers, having in its Front the Gate Adriana, which is almost Cc 2

contiguous

A. D. contiguous to the Bank of the Montone. The next Night they erected their Batteries partly against the Tower called Roncona, fituated between the Gate Adriana and the Ronco, and partly beyond the Montone, whither Part of their Army had passed by a Bridge they had laid over the River. The Batteries were hastened as much as possible, that the Assault might be given before the Enemy, who were known to be already in Motion, made their Approach, and for a no less urgent Reason, which was, their being reduced to very great Straits for Want of Provisions, fince the Venetian Troops, which were posted with some armed Vessels at Ficheruolo, had obstructed all Convoys from Lombardy, and by finking some Boats at the Mouth of the Canal that enters the Po twelve Miles from Ravenna, and is navigable within two Miles of that City, had prevented the Entrance of any Vessels with Provisions from Ferrara; and to convey them by Land in Waggons was both difficult and dangerous. Besides these Difficulties the prefent Situation was also very inconvenient and dangerous for the Foragers, who were obliged to go feven or eight Miles from

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from the Camp. For these urgent Reasons A. D. Foix resolved to give the Assault the next 1512. Day, though he knew that it was very difficult to enter the Place, because the Breach was no more than thirty Braces wide, nor was there any Access to it but by Scaling-ladders, fince it was still very near three Braces from the Ground. To furmount these Difficulties by Dint of Valour and Discipline, and to kindle the Courage of his Soldiers by Emulation, the General divided his German, Italian and French Foot into three distinct Bodies, and out of every Company of Men at Arms felected Ten of the bravest, and directing them to cover themselves with the same Armour in which they fought on horseback, ordered them An Asto march on Foot before the Infantry. fault They bravely approached the Walls, and given in gave a very terrible Affault, the Befieged making a most brave and resolute Defence, among whom Marc' Antonio Colonna greatly fignalized himself, sparing no Fatigue, and dreading no Danger, but continually carrying Succours, now here now there, as he faw most Occasion. At last the French lofing all Hopes of forcing their Way into the Town, and having received great Da-Cc 3

mage

mage from a Culverin planted on a Bastion, after fighting three Hours, retired to their Camp with the Loss of Three Hundred Foot, and some of their Men at Arms, and had as many of their Men wounded, among whom were Chatillon, and Spinofa General of the Artillery, who being hurt by the Cannon of the Place, both died a few Days after; Federigo da Bozzolo was also wounded, though but flightly. The next Day the French General changed his Scheme, and instead of fighting against Walls prepared to engage the Enemy in the Field. For the Generals of the Confederate Armyrefolving to keep their Word of Honour with Marc' Antonio, on the Motion of the French had entered Forli feated between the faid Rivers, and having passed the Ronco some Miles below it were advancing towards Ravenna. the fame time the Citizens, being terrified by the Assault given the Day before, sent out one of their Body, without the Knowledge of Marc' Antonio, to treat of a Surrendry*. But while the Time passed in going

* Ross fays, not with a real Design to surrender, but to amuse the French till the Army of the League approached.

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going to and fro with Proposals and An- A.D. fwers, the Army of the League was dif- 1512. covered marching along the River. At Confedethis Sight the French immediately with rateArmy great Noise and Hurry got under Arms, es the and formed themselves in proper Order, French. and removing the Cannon from before the Walls, directed them towards the Enemy. De Foix then consulted with his General Officers whether it were adviseable at that Instant to pass the River, and oppose the Enemy's Entrance into Ravenna: A Refolution which*, either the French would not have taken, or at least would have been impracticable for them to execute in proper Order, and with the necessary Expedition; whence it would have been easy for the Confederates to enter that Day into Ravenna through the Wood of Pineta, which lies between that City and the Sea, and confequently the French must have quitted Romagna with Difgrace for Want of Provisions. But the Allies either being ignorant of the Opportunity, and fearing they should be forced to come to a Battle while they were on their March in the open Field, or elfe imagining that Ravenna was fufficiently Cc 4

^{*} If the Venetians had advanced.

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fufficiently relieved by their Approach. because Foix durst not attempt another Asfault, stopped short, contrary to all Expectation, and encamped at a Place called Mulinaccio three Miles from Ravenna, where they spent the rest of that Day and the Night following in working at a Ditch, as wide and as deep as the Shortness of Time would permit, before the Front of their Camp. At the fame time Confultations were held by the French Generals, and not without Diversity of Opinions: For to give a new Affault to the City was judged very hazardous while the Breach was fo fmall, and the Enemy at their Backs; to stay there without Hopes of making any further Progress could be of no Service, but rather impossible for Want of Provisions. To retire would be to give the Spaniards a greater Reputation than they had acquired the Day before by their advancing forwards; and to attack them in their Camp, which it was to be supposed they had fortified, would be extremely dangerous, and contrary to all their former Refolutions; and among all Dangers that ought to be avoided which might be fucceeded

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ceeded by greater Difasters, nor could A. D. any Diforder or Difaster be compared with a Defeat. In these Difficulties it was at last resolved, at the Sollicitations especially of Foix, as the fafest as well as the most glorious Expedient, to march out as foon as it was Day and attack the Enemy. Purfuant to this Resolution they laid that Night a Bridge over the Ronco, and levelled the Slopes of the Banks on all Sides for facilitating the Passage.

EARLY the next Morning, which was the Eleventh Day of April, and highly folemnized in Memory of the most holy Refurrection, the German Foot paffed over the Bridge, but almost the whole Vanguard and the main Battle waded the River. The Rear commanded by Yves d'Alegre, in which were Four Hundred Lances, remained on the Bank of the River towards Ravenna, in readiness to fuccour the Army on Occasion, or oppose any Sallies from the Garrison or People of Ravenna; and for the Guard of the Bridge laid over the Montone was left Paris, a Scotchman, with a Thousand Foot. The French

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410 A. D. French were disposed in Order of Battle as follows: The Vanguard with the Artillery in their Front, commanded by the Battle of

Duke of Ferrara, and confifting of Seven the French Hundred Lances and the German Infantry, were drawn up on the Bank of the River, which was at their right Hand, the Foot being posted on the Left of the Horse. On the Side of the Vanguard and in the Flank were disposed the Foot of the main Battle, amounting to Eight Thousand, part Gafcons part Picards; and after these, at a still greater Distance from the Bank of the River, was posted the last Body of Troops, confisting of Italian Foot under the Command of Federigo da Bozzolo, and amounting only to Five Thousand Men. For though Foix when he passed by Bologna had taken the Garrison with him, many of the Soldiers had deferted on account of the Scantiness of the Pay. On the Side of this Body of Forces were placed all the Archers and the light Horse, which exceeded the Number of Three Thousand. Behind all these Regiments, which did not extend themselves in a right Line, but bended in Form of a Half Moon, were

posted

posted the Six Hundred Lances of the main Battle, commanded by Palisse in conjunction with the Cardinal of San Severino. Legate of the Council, a Man of a large Body and a great Spirit, and who being covered from Head to Foot with glittering Armour, acted the Part of a General much more than of a Cardinal or a Legate. As for Foix, he referved to himself no particular Place or Charge, but felecting out of the whole Army thirty of the most valiant Gentlemen, chose rather to be at Liberty to overfee the whole Action, and fend his Orders and Succours as Neceffity required, being eafily distinguished from the rest by the Splendor and Beauty of his Arms, and by his military Robe. As foon as the Army was ranged in Order he mounted on the Bank of the River, and with a most chearful Countenance, his Eyes full of Vigour, and as it were

fparkling with Joy, kindled the Courage of his Soldiers, with an Eloquence, as it is reported, more than military, in the

following Manner.

" BEHOLD

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A. D.

Soldiers, which we have so long and eagerSpeech of ly desired, of fighting the Enemy in the

his Army. open Field, which Fortune our indulgent Mother in fo many Successes has this Day brought to pass by giving us an Opportunity of obtaining, with infinite Honour, the most glorious Victory that ever was obtained by any Army in the Memory of Man. For not only Ravenna, not only the Cities of Romagna will remain at your Discretion, but they will be the least Part of the Reward of your Valour, fince there being nothing left in Italy to oppose your Arms, you may run without Refistance to Rome, where the immense Riches of that wicked Court, extracted during fo many Ages from the Bowels of Christendom, will become your Prey, with fuch Quantities of the most stately Ornaments, and with fuch Heaps of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, and fuch rich Prisoners that the whole World will envy your Fortune. From Rome you may with the same Ease make an Excursion as far as Naples, to revenge the many Injuries that you have received.

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ceived. I cannot form in my Imagination A. D. any Impediment to this your Happiness, when I consider your Valour, your Fortune, and the honourable Victories you have obtained in a few Days; when I behold your Countenances, and when I reflect that there are very few of you who have not given a remarable Testimony of their Valour by some notable Exploit before my Eyes. Our Enemies are the same Spaniards who on our Conjunction fled away from Bologna in so shameful a Manner by Night; they are the same as they were a few Days ago, and no other than those who took Refuge under the Walls of Imola and Faenza, and in mountainous and difficult Places, to fave themselves from us. That Nation never engaged with our Armies in the Kingdom of Naples on open and equal Ground, but always with the Advantage of Trenches, Rivers or Ditches, and never trusted to their Valour, but to Wiles and Snares. Neither are these Fellows the same Spamiards that were inured to the Neapolitan Wars, but new Levies, unexperienced, and fuch as never fought against

A. D. any other Weapons than the Bows, Ar-1512. rows, and blunt Lances of the Moors. And yet they were defeated with vast Difgrace by that poor, feeble, faint-hearted Nation, in a Manner unarmed, and ignorant of all the Arts of War, but this last Year, in the Island of Gerbe, from whence this same Pietro Navarra, a General of fo great Renown among them, betook himself to Flight, leaving a memorable Example to all the World that there is a wide Difference between battering of Walls with the Force of Gunpowder, or throwing them down with Mines fecretly worked under the Earth, and fighting with true Fortitude and Animofity. And now they stand inclosed within a Ditch made but this laft Night, and under most terrible Apprehenfions, their Foot covered with Banks, and trust in their armed Waggons, as if the Battle were to be managed by fuch childish Instruments, and not with the Courage and Resolution of the Heart, and the Strength and Robustness of the Breast and Arms. Our Artillery, believe me, will bring them out of their Holes into the open and plain Field, where it will appear how

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how much the Fury of the French, the A. D. Fierceness of the Germans, and the Bravery of the Italians are superior to the Cunning and Snares of the Spaniards. Nothing can diminish our Glory but that we are so much fuperior in Number, and indeed almost double to them; and yet none will accuse us of Cowardice for using this Advantage which Fortune has given us, but will lay the Blame on the Imprudence and Rashness of the Enemy, who are not induced to fight by Courage or Valour, but by the Authority of Fabritio Colonna on account of the Promises inconsiderately made to Marc' Antonio, or rather by the divine Justice to chastise by most deserved Punishments the Pride and enormous Vices of that false Pope Julius, and that Multitude of fraudulent and treacherous Practices with which the Goodness of our King has been abused by the perfidious King of Aragon. But what Reason have I to expatiate any further in Words? Or what Occasion is there to use superfluous Encouragements with Soldiers of fuch approved Valour, fince all the Time I spend in fpeaking is but fo long deferring your Victory?

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Fellow-Soldiers, according to your Orders, and be affured that this Day will bring Empire to my King, and to you the Riches of all Italy. I your General will always be with you in every Place, and expose my Life as usual to all Dangers, thinking myself the happiest of all Generals, since by this Day's Victory I shall make my Soldiers richer and more glorious than ever were any Soldiers or Army for these Three Hundred Years past.

AT these Words the Air resounded with the Sounds of Trumpets and Drums, and the cheerful Acclamations of the whole Army. The Troops then began to move towards the Enemy, who were less than two Miles distant from the Place where they had passed the River. Their Camp was extended along the Bank, which was on their Lest, and at their Front was a Ditch as deep as the Shortness of Time would permit them to make it, and which winding about to the Right encompassed the whole Camp, except an Opening of twenty Braces

Braces in the Front left for the Horse to A. D. fally out for skirmishing. Within this 1512. Camp, as foon as they perceived the Order of French began to pass the River, they ranged Battle of themselves in Order of Battle as follows federate The Vanguard, confisting of Eight Hun-Army. dred Men at Arms, commanded by Fabritio Colonna, was disposed along the Bank of the River, and adjoining to these on the Right was posted a Body of Six Thousand Foot. Behind the Vanguard and along the River was the main Battle, composed of Six Hundred Lances, flanked by a Body of Four Thousand Foot, under the Command of the Viceroy affifted by the Marquis della Palude. In this Division came also the Cardinal de' Medici, who was naturally purblind, of a mild Deportment, in a Habit of Peace, and not only in outward Show, but in his Actions and Behaviour, very unlike the Cardinal of San Severino. Behind the main Battle, and disposed also along the Bank of the River, was the Rearguard, commanded by Carvagial, a Spanish General, confisting of Four Hundred Men at Arms, flanked by a Body of Four Thousand Foot. The VOL. V. Dd light

A. D. light Horse, over whom was Captain General Ferrando Davala, Marquis of Pefcara, as yet very young, but of extraordinary Hopes, were posted on the Right at the Back of the Infantry, to fuccour any Part that should give Way. The Artillery was planted at the Head of the Men at Arms, and Pietro Navarra, who with a Battalion of Five Hundred chosen Foot was assigned no particular Post, had, on the Brink of the Ditch before the Infantry, placed thirty Waggons refembling the falcated * Chariots of the Antients, loaded with small Pieces of Artillery, and armed with a very long Spear, that projected from the Top, for the better fustaining the furious Attack of the French. In this Order they stood ranged within the Fortification of their Ditch, expecting the Affault of the Enemy; which Disposition as it did them no Service in the End of the Action, so it appeared very prejudicial in the Beginning: For Fabritio Colonna had proposed to attack the Enemy when they began to pass the River, judging the Advantage of engaging only with one Part of them greater than what they could promise themselves from having

^{*} Armed with Scythes.

having a small Ditch before them. But A. D. Pietro Navarra, whose Counsels were respected by the Viceroy as Oracles, oppofing this Measure, it was imprudently resolved to let them pass unmolested. The French then moving forwards, and being advanced within Two Hundred Braces of the Ditch, when they saw their Enemies ftand still, and unwilling to leave their Camp, halted, that they might not give them that Advantage which they fought to gain. Hence both Armies stood immoveable for more than two Hours, during which there was a continual Fire from the Artillery on both Sides, by which the French Foot suffered not a little, for Navarra had planted his Cannon on a Place from whence they were greatly annoyed. But the Duke of Ferrara drew a Part of the Artillery from the Rear of the Army, and with great Expedition conveyed it to a proper Place at the Point where the French Archers were posted. This Point, because the Army had the Form of a Crefcent, was almost on the Back of the Enemy, who were terribly galled from thence in Flank, especially the Cavalry; Dd 2 for

A. D. for Pietro Navarra had drawn off the Spanish Infantry to a lower Ground near the Bank of the River, and ordered them to lie flat on the Earth, by which Means they avoided the Shot. Fabritio cried out with a loud Voice, and by repeated Importunities and Messages intreated the Viceroy not to wait till they were all destroyed by the Cannon, but to march out with the Troops to Battle. But he was opposed by Navarra out of a perverse Ambition; for that Officer prefuming that he could come off Conqueror by the Valour of the Spanish Foot, though all the rest perished, imagined that the more Loss the Army sustained, the more his Glory would be increased. But the French Artillery had made fuch Destruction among the Men at Arms and the light Horse, that it was no longer supportable; and it was a miserable Spectacle to behold fometimes Men and Horses promiscuously with horrible Cries falling dead to the Ground, fometimes Heads and Arms struck off from the rest of the Body, and bounding in the Air. Fabritio therefore crying out, "What must we all be shamefully sacrificed to the obstinate Malice

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lice of one Rascal? And is this whole Army A. D. to be destroyed without killing one Enemy? Where is our Sense of so many Victories over the French? Shall the Honour of Spain and Italy be lost by Means of a Navarrese?" spurred out of the Ditch with his Men at Arms, without expecting Leave or Orders from the Viceroy, and was followed by all the Cavalry. Hence Pietro Navarra was obliged to give the Signal to his Foot, who raising themselves from the Ground with great Fierceness engaged the German Infantry, who were almost come upon them. All the Bat-Battle of talions and Squadrons thus charging one Ravenna. among another, there began a very great Battle, and without Doubt one of the greatest that Italy had seen for these many For the Fight at the Taro was little better than a brisk Encounter with Lances, and the Engagements in the Kingdom of Naples were rather disorderly and inconfiderate Attacks than Battles, and in the Action in the Ghiaradadda only the leffer Part of the Venetian Army was engaged. But here all the Troops were intermingled in a Battle fought on plain Dd 3 Ground,

A. D. Ground, without the Impediments of Waters or Banks, where both Armies combated with Minds obstinately bent on Death or Victory, and inflamed not only with Danger, Glory, and Hope, but also with the Hatred of Nation against Nation. And it was a memorable Spectacle, in the hot Engagement between the German and Spanish Infantry, to see two very noted Officers, Jacopo Empser a German, and Zamudio a Spaniard advance before their Battalions, and encounter one another, as if it were by Challenge, in which Combat the Spaniard went off Conqueror by killing his Adversary. The Cavalry of the Army of the League was not at best equal to that of the French, and having been shattered and torn by the Artillery was become much inferior. Wherefore after they had fustained for some Time, more by Stoutness of Heart than Strength of Arms, the Fury of the Enemy, Yves d'Alegre with the Rearguard and a Thousand Foot that were left at the Montone under Palisse, and now recalled, charging them in Flank, and Fabritio Colonna valiantly fighting being taken Prifoner

rates defeated.

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foner by the Soldiers of the Duke of Ferrara, they turned their Backs, in which they did no more than follow the Example of their Generals; for the Viceroy and Carvagiale, without making the utmost Proof of the Valour of their Troops, betook themselves to Flight, carrying off with them the third Division, or Rearguard, almost entire, with Antonio da Leva, a Man at that Time of low Rank, though afterwards, by a continual Exercise of Arms for many Years, rifing through all the military Degrees, he became a very famous General. The whole Body of light Horse had been already broken, and the Marquis of Pescara their Commander taken Prisoner, covered with Blood and Wounds. And the Marquis della Palude, who had led up the fecond Division, or main Battle, through a Field full of Ditches and Briars, in great Diforder, to the Fight, was also taken. The Ground was covered with dead Men and Horses, and yet the Spanish Infantry, though abandoned by the Horse, continued fighting with incredible Fierceness; and though, at the first Encounter with the German Foot, they Dd 4 had

A. D. had received some Damage from the firm 1512. and close Order of the Pikes, yet afterwards getting their Enemies within the Length of their Swords, and many of them covered with Targets, pushing with Daggers between the Legs of the Germans, they had penetrated with very great Slaughter almost to the Center of their Battalions. The Gascon Foot, who were posted by the Germans on the Ground between the River and a rifing Bank, had attacked the Italian Infantry, who, though they had greatly suffered by the Artillery, would have repulfed them highly to their Honour, had not Yves d'Alegre entered among them with a Squadron of Horse. But the Fortune of that General did not answer his Valour, for his Son Viverais being almost immediately killed before his Eyes, the Father, unwilling to furvive fo great a Loss, threw himself with his Horse into the thickest of the Enemies, where fighting like a most valiant Captain, and killing several, he was at last cut to Pieces*. The Italian Foot, unable to re-

^{*} Alegre longing to revenge the Death of his Son Meliland, who had, the Year before, been killed in Ferrara

Part of the Spanish Infantry hastening to fupport them they rallied. On the other Side the German Infantry, being forely pressed by the other Part of the Spaniards, were hardly capable of making any Resistance; but the Cavalry of the Confederates being all fled out of the Field, Foix with a great Body of Horse turned to fall upon them. The Spaniards therefore rather retiring than driven out of the Field, without the least Disorder in their Ranks,

close Front, by the Strength of which they beat off the French, and began to disengage themselves; at which Time Pietro Navarra, chusing rather to die than to save himself, and therefore refusing to leave the Field, was made a Prisoner. But Foix thinking it intolerable that this Spanish Infantry should march off in Battle-Array like Conquerors, and knowing that the

took their Way between the River and the Bank, marching flowly and with a

by some Soldiers of Ramazotto, an Italian Officer, went to take his Vengeance upon his Troops, where he lost his other Son Vivarais, and at last was killed himself. Giovio. Ross.

Victory was not perfect, if these were not

broken

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broken and dispersed as the rest, went furiously to attack them with a Squadron of Horse, and did Execution upon the hindmost; but being furrounded, and thrown from his Horse, or, as some say, his Horse falling upon him while he was fighting, he received a mortal Thrust with a Pike in his Side. And if it be defireable, as it is believed, for a Man to die in the Height of his Prosperity, it is certain that he met with a most happy Death in dying after he had obtained fo glorious a Victory*. He died very young, but highly celebrated throughout the World, having in lefs than three Months, and being a General almost before he was a Soldier, with

* De Foix was greatly diffuaded by his Officers from pursuing the Infantry marching off in Order, telling him that he had done enough for his Honour in remaining Master of the Field, without tempting Fortune any farther. But, hurried on by his Fate, he told them that it would be no Victory while this Body of Men with their General went off safe and in Order of Battle. Anselmi. This Author also and Giovio write that Foix sinding himfelf wounded by the Spaniards cried out several Times, that he was Foix, and Brother to the Queen of Spain; which, however, did not in the least avail him. But Anselmi gives no Credit to this Circumstance, saying, that though the Fear of Death is of mighty Efficacy, yet the Magnanimity of a royal Heart was sufficient to controul it.

incredible

De Foix

incredible Ardor and Expedition, obtained A. D. fo many Victories. Near him lay on the Ground for dead Lautrec, having received twenty Wounds; but being carried to Ferrara, he was by the diligent Care of the Surgeons recovered*. By the Death of Foix the Spaniards were suffered to pass off unmolested, the Remainder of the Army being dispersed and put to Flight, and the Baggage, Colours, and Cannon taken. The Pope's Legate was also taken by the Stradiotti, and carried to Federigo da Bozzolo, who made a Prefent of him to the Legate of the Council. There were taken also Fabritio Colonna, Pietro Navarra, the Marquis della Palude, the Marquis of Bitonto, the Marquis of Pescara, with many other Lords, Barons, and honourable Centlemen, Spaniards and Neapolitans. Nothing is more uncertain than the Number of the Killed in Battles; but amidst the Variety of Accounts it is the most common Opinion that there died of both Armies at least Ten Thousand, of which one Third was of the French, and Two Thirds

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^{*} Lautrec, afterwards Captain General of the Fronch with unlimited Authority, was Cousin German to Foix.

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A. D. Thirds of their Enemies; some talk of many more*, but they were without Question almost all of them of the most valiant and choice Soldiers, among whom belonging to the Ecclefiastic Forces was Rafaello de' Pazzi, an Officer of high Reputation; and great Numbers were wounded. But in this Respect the Loss of the Conqueror was without Comparison much the greater by the Death of Foix, Yves d' Alegre, and many of the French Nobility, General Facob, and many other brave Officers of the German Infantry, by whose Valour, though at a vast Expence of their Blood, the Victory was in a great measure acquired, Molard also, with many other Officers of the Gascons and Picards, which Nations lost all their Glory that Day among the French. But all this Loss was exceeded by the Death of Foix, with whom perished the very Sinews and Spirits of that Army. Of the Vanquished that escaped out of the Field of Battle the greater Part fled

^{*} Giovio and Mocenigo make the Slain Twenty Thoufand; Bembo and Anselmi Eighteen Thousand; Buonacorfi Sixteen Thousand, and Giustiniano almost as many more, in which he little differs from Ross; Gradinico makes the Killed above Twenty Thousand.

fled towards Cesena, whence they con- A. D. tinued their Flight to more distant 1512. Places; nor did the Viceroy stop till he came to Ancona, where he arrived with a very few Horse. Many were stripped and murdered in their Flight; for the Peafants scoured all the Roads, and the Duke of Urbino, who, from his fending some time before Baldassarre da Castiglione to the King of France, and employing some trusty Persons as his Agents with Foix, was supposed to have entered into a private Agreement against his Uucle, not only raised the Country against those that sled, but fent his Soldiers to intercept them in the Territories of Pefaro; so that only those who took their Flight through the Dominions of the Florentines, were, by Orders of the Magistrates, confirmed by the Republic, suffered to pass unmolested.

THE victorious Army was no fooner returned to their Camp than the People of Ravenna sent Deputies to treat of surrendering their City; but when they had agreed, or were upon the Point of Agreement, and the Inhabitants, being employed in preparing

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A. D. paring Provisions to be fent to the Camp, were negligent in guarding the Walls, the German and Gascon Foot entered through the Breach that had been made, and plundered the Town in a most barbarous Manner, their Cruelty being exasperated not taken and only by their natural Hatred to the Name facked. of the Italians, but by a Spirit of Revenge for the Loss they had fustained in the Battle. On the fourth Day after this Marc' Antonio Colonna gave up the Cittadel, into which he had retired, on Condition of Safety to the Persons and Effects, but obliging himself on the other hand, together with the rest of the Officers, not to bear Arms against the King of France nor the Pisan Council, till the next Festival of S. Mary Magdalen; and not many Days after Bishop Vitello, who commanded in the Castle with an Hundred and Fifty Men, agreed to furrender it on Terms of Safety for Life and Goods. The Cities of Imola. Forli, Cesena, and Rimini, and all the Caftles of Romagna, except those of Forli and Imola, followed the Fortune of the Victory, and were received by the Legate in the Name of the Council

Bur the French Army, by the Death of Foix, and the great Loss they had received, was become in a manner stupid, remaining idle in their Camp four Miles from Ravenna. For the Legate and Paliffe, on whom was devolved the Command (Alfonso d'Este being returned to Ferrara) being uncertain of the King's Determination, expected their Commisfions; and had not yet that Authority with the Soldiers which was required to put the Army in Motion; and the Troops were employed in distributing, or bestowing in Places of Security, the Goods they had plundered, and fo much weakened and dispirited by the Victory which had cost them so much Blood, that they look'd as if they had been beaten, and had not the Face of Conquerors. Now it was that all the Soldiers, with Tears and Lamen-Foix detations, called upon the Name of Foix, plored. whom they would have followed through the World, furmounting all Difficulties, and despising all Dangers. Nor was it doubted but that, being pushed forward by the Impulse of his natural Ferocity,

and by the Promises which the King, it was said, had made him that he should conquer Naples for himself, he would, with his usual Expedition, have hastened to Rome, whence the Pope with his Court, having no other Hopes of saving themfelves, must have sled with Precipitation.

THE News of the Defeat arrived at Rome on the thirteenth Day of April, being brought by Ottaviano Fregofo, who came Express with it from Fossombrone. The difmal Account threw the whole Court into the greatest Terror and Confusion, the Cardinals immediately flocking to the Pope, and conjuring him by the most earnest Intreaties to accept of Peace, which they did not doubt he might obtain on Terms honourable enough from the King of France; befeeching him to dispose himfelf at last for delivering the Apostolic See, and his own Person, from so great a Danger; representing to him that he had fufficiently fatigued himself for the Exaltation of the Church, and for the Liberty of Italy, and had acquired great Glory by his holy Intentions: That he should succeed

Pope exhorted to Peace.

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in so pious an Enterprise was discovered, A. D. by many Signs and Tokens, to be contrary to the Will of God, to act in Opposition to which would be no other than to bring the Church to utter Ruin: That it belonged more to God than to him to take the Care of his Spouse, and therefore he ought to refign himself to the divine Will, and, by embracing Peace according to the Precepts of the Gospel, at once deliver his old Age, the State of the Church, and his whole Court, which longed and cried out for nothing but Peace, from all their Troubles: And it was supposed, they faid, that the Conquerors had already put themfelves in Motion for directly marching to Rome, and that they would be joined by his Nephew, and also by Roberto Orfino, Pompeo Colonna, Antimo Savello, Pietro Margano, and Renzo Mancino, who were known to have received Money from the King of France, and had been preparing to raise Disturbances, and distress Rome even before the Battle of Ravenna; against which great and imminent Dangers there could be no other Remedy than Peace.

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ON

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A. D. 3572.

Reasons

the Pope

from a

Peace.

On the other hand the Ambassadors of the King of Aragon and of the Venetian Senate made very strong Remonstrances to his Holiness against a Peace, endeavouring to persuade him that Affairs were not diffuading so distressed, nor reduced to such Extremities as was imagined: That the Army was not so much diffipated, but that it might, in a very short time, and with no great Expence, be re-established: That they knew the Viceroy had faved himfelf with the greater Part of the Cavalry, and that the Spanish Infantry had marched off the Field of Battle in close and proper Order; and if they were fafe, as it was probable, all the other Loss was but of small Moment: That there was no Reason to be apprehensive that the French would come to Rome so soon but that he might have Time to provide for his Defence, because the Death of their General must of Necessity be attended with many Disorders and Inconveniencies: That they were

> moreover held in Suspense by their Jealousies of the Swifs, who, it was no longer doubted, would declare for the League,

> > and

and make a Descent into Lombardy: That Peace was not to be expected from the King of France but on very unjust and dishonourable Terms, and his Holiness would be obliged to receive Laws from the Pride of Bernardino Carvagial, and from the Insolence of Federigo da San Severino. Any thing therefore would be better for him, than, under the Name of Peace, to fubmit, with fo much Indignity and Difgrace, to a most oppressive and most infecure Slavery; for these Schismatics would never defift from making Attempts on his Dignity and on his Life. It would be much the leffer Evil for him, if it could not be avoided, to abandon Rome, and remove with all his Court to the Kingdom of Naples or to Venice, where he might live in the fame Honour and Security, and with the same Grandeur; for the Loss of Rome was not attended with the Loss of the Pontificate, which is always annexed to the Person of the Pontiff, in whatever Place he refides. His Holiness therefore had no more to do than to hold fast his usual Constancy and Magnanimity, for God, the Searcher of human Hearts, would E e 2

would not fail to affift his honest and pious Intentions, nor forsake the Bark of Peter, which, though often tossed by the Waves, can never sink; and the Christian Princes, excited by their Zeal for Religion, and their Dread of the exorbitant Greatness of the King of France, would, with all their Forces, and in their own proper Persons, undertake his Defence.

THE Pope heard these Reasons offered on both Sides with vast Doubt and Perplexity, fo that it was eafy to discover in him the Struggles between his Dangers and Fears on one Side, and his Enmity, Indignation, and an Obstinacy unused to bend or be overcome, on the other; and it was understood also, by his Answers to the Ambassadors, that he would not be so uneafy at his leaving Rome, as because there was no Place to which he could retire without putting himfelf in the Power of others. Wherefore he answered the Cardinals that he chose Peace, and confented that they should follicit the Florentines to interpose their Mediation with the King of France for that Purpose; but his Answer binow.

Answer was not so determinate, and in A. D. such expressive Terms, as to give sull Assurance of his Intentions. He had sent for Biascia, a Genoese, Commander of his Galleys, from Civita Vecchia, which made it conjectured that he designed to depart from Rome; but, soon after he dismissed him, and consulted about raising the Roman Barons that had not taken Part with the others, and willingly hearkened to the Sollicitations of the two Ambassa-Pope averse to dors, though he would often answer them Peace. in angry and affronting Words.

At this Juncture arrived Giulio de' Medici, a Knight of Rhodes, and afterwards Pope, whom the Cardinal de' Medici, with Leave from the Cardinal of San Severino, had fent from the Army, on pretence of recommending himself to the Pope's Favour under his great Missortune, but in reality to make a Report of the State of Affairs*. By his Account his Holiness was fully informed how greatly the French Ee 3

^{*} Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Pope Clement VII. had fled from the Battle to Cesena, and afterwards obtained a Pass for paying a Visit to the Cardinal his Cousin German, by whom he was dispatched to the Pope. Giovio.

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438 His Encouragements for continueing the War.

A. D. were weakened, of how many Commanders they were deprived, what Numbers of valiant Soldiers they had loft, how many were for a long time rendered unferviceable by their Wounds, what vast Destruction there was of Horses, that Part of the Army was dispersed into various Places by the Pillage of Ravenna, and that the Generals were in Suspense, and uncertain of the King's Will, and had no good Understanding between themselves, because Palisse refused to endure the Insolence of San Severino, who would assume the Office of General as well as of Legate; that it was privately whispered that the Swifs were on their March, and that there was no Sign that the Army would foon put itself in Motion. The Pope was mightily comforted at these Particulars, and had the Meffenger introduced into a Confistory, where he made him give the fame Relation before the Cardinals; and it was added that the Duke of Urbino, from some Motive or other, had changed his Resolution, and sent to offer his Uncle Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Four Thousand Foot. The Cardinals however continued continued to stimulate his Holiness to Peace, from which though he did not appear to be averse in Words, yet he was refolved not to accept it but as the last and desperate Remedy; and therefore, though he should see no Cure at hand for the prefent Diforder, he was determined rather to fly out of Rome, provided he was not quite deprived of all Hopes of Affiftance from the Arms of the Princes in Support of his Cause, and particularly from the Nation of the Swifs, who, shewing an Inclination to comply with his Defires, had fome time before forbidden the Ambaffadors of the King of France to be prefent at the Place where the Deputies of all the Cantons were affembled, in order to come to a Resolution on the Demands of the Pontiff.

In this Situation of Affairs there appeared some transient Glimpses of a Peace; for the King of France, before the Battle was fought, under a deep Concern of so many Dangers threatening him from all Quarters, and provoked at the Unsteadiness of Casar, and the hard Conditions he had E e 4 proposed

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of the

King of

A. D. proposed to him, had at last resolved rather to comply in many Points with the Pope's Will; and for that End had given fecret Orders to Fabritio Carretta, Brother to the Cardinal of Finale, and to the Cardinals of Nantes and Strigonia, who had never wholly defifted from treating about an Agreement, to propose, that Bologna should be restored to the Pontiff, that Alfonso d'Este should also surrender to him Lugo, with all the other Towns that he possessed in Romagna, and should be obliged to pay the antient Tribute, and to Proposals make no more Salt in his Territories; and that the Council should be abolished. He France to made no other Demands of the Pope in the Pope. return but Peace only with him, that Alfonso d'Este should be absolved from his Cenfures, and restored to the Enjoyment of his antient Rights and Privileges, that the Bentivogli, who were to remain in Exile, should referve the Possession of their own proper Estates, and that the Cardinals

> and Prelates who had adhered to the Council should be restored to their Dignities. Though the two Cardinals were apprehensive that the King, since his Vic-

> > tory,

tory, would not give his Confent to these Conditions, yet they durst not propose them in any other Form; and the Pontiss sinding them so honourable for himself, and unwilling to discover the secret Resolution which he had taken in his Mind, judged that he ought not to resuse them; and that perhaps also he could not do himself more Service than by endeavouring with these Negotiations to suspend the Operations of the King's Army, that he might have the more Time to wait the Progress of those Powers in whom he reposed his last Hopes. Wherefore, all the Cardinals importuning him to do what he had de-

the ninth Day after the Battle, and passed his Word to the Cardinals that he would accept them, provided they were confirmed by the King; he commissioned also by Letters the Cardinal of *Finale*, who resided in *France*, but absented himself from Court because he would not offend his Holiness, and the Bishop of *Tivoli*, his

termined, he subscribed these Articles on

Legate in Avignon, to wait on his Majesty with the Articles in order to treat about

441 A. D. 1512. A. D. about the Affair, but he fent them no Orders nor Powers to bring it to a Conclusion*.

THUS far proceeded the Course of the Pope's Misfortunes, and at this Period we may date the Height of his Calamities and Dangers; but from this Time his Hopes and Prospects continually brightened and increased, and the Wheel of Fortune turned without any Check towards his Aggrandizement. The Beginning of fo remarkable a Change in the Face of Affairs was occasioned by the sudden Deous Turn parture of Paliffe from Romagna. This Commander being recalled by the General of Normandy, on account of the spreading Reports of the Coming of the Swifs, removed with the Army towards the Dutchy of Milan, leaving in Romagna Three Hundred Lances, Three Hundred light Horse, with Eight Pieces of heavy Cannon, under

the

Affairs of the Pope take a prosper-

^{*} Julius, soon after he had sent the Articles of Peace drawn up in Form, and subscribed with his own Hand, to the King, fent for the Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors, and defired them to be under no Concern at what he had done, for he was not in the least altered in his Resolution against the French, but had made this Step to lull the King afleep. Bembo.

the Command of the Legate of the Coun- A. D. cil. And the Fears from the Swifs were the more alarming, because the same General, being more follicitous to pleafe than to profit the King, had, contrary to the present Exigencies of Affairs, immediately after the Victory, imprudently disbanded all the Italian and Part of the French Infantry. The Departure of Palisse delivered the Pope from his Fears, confirmed him in his Obstinacy, and rendered it easy for him to fettle Affairs at Rome to his own Liking. For this End he had enlifted fome Roman Barons with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and treated of making Prospero Colonna Captain General. For the Courage of those who had attempted Innovations failing them, Pompeo Colonna, who was making Preparations at Monte Fortino, confented, at the Interposition of Prospero, to deposit that Fortress, for the Security of the Pontiff, in the Hands of Marc' Antonio Colonna, basely keeping the Money he had received of the King of France. Hence also Ruberto Orsino, who was come from Pitigliano to the Territories of the Colonnas, with a Defign to raife War, foon after came

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A. D. came to an Agreement by the Mediation of Giulio Orsino, retaining also the King's Money, and receiving of the Pontiff, in reward of his Persidy, the Archbishopric of Reggio in Calabria. Only Pietro Margano was ashamed to keep the Money which he had received, but fortunately as well as honourably returned it; for not very long after, being taken prisoner in War by the Successor of the Present King, he would otherwise have paid the Penalty due to his Treachery.

Lateran Council opened. The Pope now greatly confirmed in his Refolutions by these Events, and delivered from present Fears of domestic as well as foreign Enemies, on the third Day of May with very great Solemnity opened the Council in the Church of San Giovanni Laterano, being assured of the Attendance not only of the greater Part of Italy, but of Spain, England, and Hungary. At this Opening he affisted in Person, clothed in his pontifical Robes, and accompanied by the College of Cardinals, with a great Number of Bishops. After celebrating, according to antient Custom, the Mass of

the Holy Ghost, besides many other A. D. Prayers, and exhorting the Fathers, by a 1512. public Oration, to apply themselves heartily to the Promotion of the common Good, and of the Dignity of the Christian Religion, it was declared, in order to lay a Foundation for future Proceedings, that the Council there affembled was a true, lawful and holy Council, in which undoubtedly refided all the Power and Authority of the universal Church: Ceremonies certainly very decent and very holy, and of Force sufficient to penetrate into the inmost Recesses of the Hearts of Men, if they could but perfuade themselves that the Authors of them had no other Ends to profecute than what appeared from the obvious Meaning of the Words.

THESE were the Proceedings of the Pope after the Battle of Ravenna. But the King of France, though his Joy for the Victory was somewhat allayed by the Death of Foix, whom he dearly loved, immediately ordered the Legate and Palisse to lead the Army with all possible Speed to Rome: However, after his first Ardor

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was cooled, he began to return to his eager

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King of France defirous of Peace.

Defires of Peace, forefeeing the great Tempest which from so many Quarters at once threatened to overwhelm his States. For though Cafar continued his Promises of standing firm to his Alliance, protesting that the Truce made with the Venetians in his Name was without his Confent, and that he would never ratify it, yet the King, besides his Apprehensions from that Prince's Inconstancy, and his not being certain of the Veracity of his Words, was but too fensible that he was linked with a Companion burdensome in War, and hurtful in Peace, fince he supposed that by his intermeddling in the Affair he should be constrained to consent to the more dishonourable Conditions. Besides, he no longer doubted that the Swifs would enter into an Alliance with his Enemies. and from the King of England he expected nothing but War, for that King had fent an Herald to fignify to him that it was his Intention that all the Conventions and Confederacies which had fubfifted between them should be ended, since all of them contained this Exception, namely, "provided

447 A. D. 1512,

vided the King of France made no War against the Church, nor against the Catholic King the King of England's Fatherin-law. Lewis therefore was highly pleased that the Florentines had been sollicited to interpose their Mediation for a Peace, and immediately dispatched to Florence the President of Grenoble, with very full Instructions, that the Treaty might be negotiated in a Place more at hand, and that he might go, if it were expedient, from thence to Rome. And when he afterwards came to know the free and ready Inclination, as it then seemed, of the Pope by his fubscribing the Articles, he was wholly intent on a Peace. But being apprehensive that the Pontiff, on the Departure of the Army, would relapse into his usual Stubbornness, he ordered Palisse, who was now arrived at Parma, immediately to return with Part of the Troops into Romagna, and to spread a Report that he had Orders to proceed further. He thought it very hard that he should be obliged to part with Bologna, not so much on account of the Instances made to him in the Name of Cæsar to the contrary, as because 448 A. D. 1512.

because he doubted that, even after the Peace was made, the Pope would entertain the same Prejudice against him. For this Reason it would be detrimental to deprive himself of Bologna, which ought to be defended as an Outwork or Bulwark of the Dutchy of Milan, Besides, as the Cardinal of Finale, and the Bishop of Tivoli were arrived at his Court without a Commission to conclude any thing, and the Pope was at that Time furrounded with fo many Difficulties and Dangers, it feemed a plain Sign that he had consented out of Diffimulation. At last, however, he refolved to accept the abovementioned Articles, with certain Limitations, but not fuch as would affect the main Substance. With this Answer the Secretary of the Bishop of Tivoli was dispatched to Rome, to follicit the Pontiff, in the Name of the King, either to fend his Orders to the aforesaid Bishop and the Cardinal to conclude the Agreement, or to fend to Florence for the President of Grenoble, who was furnished with full Powers for the same Purpose.

1512.

Bur the Hopes of the Pontiff every Day increased. and consequently his Inclinations, if he ever had any, to Peace diminished. A Commission was arrived from the King of England, by which the Cardinal of York was empowered to fign the League, having been dispatched in November last, but he was a long time retarded in his Coming by the great Compass he was obliged to take, having paid a Visit in Spain by the Way. Cæsar, after long Hesitation, had at last ratified the Truce with the Venetians, the principal Inducement to which was the Hopes which the Catholic King and the King of England had given him with respect to his Pretenfions on the Dutchy of Milan and The Pope was much en-Burgundy. couraged in his Mind by the vast Hopes infused into him by the King of Aragon, who received the first Account of the Defeat by Letters from the King of France to the Queen, in which he fignified that Gaston de Foix her Brother was dead in the Height of his Glory after a Victory obtained over the Enemies, and afterwards Ff VOL. V. more

450 A. D.

more particularly by Advices from his own Officers, which arrived later on account of the Difficulty of the Seas. it appearing to him that the Kingdom of Naples was in great Danger, he had refolved to fend into Italy the Great Captain with a new Supply of Troops, to which Remedy he had recourse for want of other Means; for though he treated that Officer with outward Marks of Respect, yet he really difliked him, from the Memory of his former Popularity in Naples, and was jealous of his Greatness and Authority. The Pope being thus confirmed by a Concurrence of fo many favourable Events, when the Secretary of the Bishop of Tivoli arrived with the Articles of the Treaty, and gave his Holiness Reasons to think that even the Limitations added by the King, to moderate the Difgrace of abandoning the Protection of Bologna, might be referred to his Will, entirely refolved not to accept But, out of Regard to his Signet and to his Word passed to the College, pretending the contrary, as was fometimes his Practice, in which he belyed the Fame of his Veracity, he caused the Articles to

read in a Confistory, and asked the Ad- A. D. vice of the Cardinals. On this the Spanish 1512. Cardinal Arborense and the Cardinal of York, who had before fecretly concerted with him what they should fay, rose up, and, in the Name of the Kings their refpective Masters, gravely exhorted his Holiness to persevere in his Constancy, and not to abandon the Cause of the Church, which with fo much Dignity he had undertaken to defend: Representing to him that the Necessities of the Times, which had induced him to hearken to these Propofals, were now ceafed; and that it manifestly appeared that God, who for some Ends, unknown to us, had permitted his Bark to be vehemently toffed and tumbled in the Sea, would not suffer it to perish; and that it was not confistent with Decency nor Justice for him to make a separate Peace, and to treat of an Affair of common Concern without the Participation of the rest of the Confederates. Lastly they admonished him seriously to consider of what dangerous Consequence it must prove to the Apostolic See and to himself, to alienate himself from true and faithful Friends Ff2

Friends for the Sake of adhering to recon-A. D. ciled Enemies. The Pontiff feeming to be moved by these Advices openly refused Pope rejectsPeace the Agreement; and a few Days after, proceeding to violent Measures, pronounced in the Confistory a Monitory against the King of France, enjoining him, under the Penalties appointed by the facred Canons, to release the Cardinal de' Medici. But he confented that the Publication of it should be superseded at the Intreaties of the College of Cardinals, who advised him to defer as long as possible the Use of the sharpest Remedies, and proposed to address his Majesty by Letters, written in the Name of the whole Body, for the fame Purpose, in which they would exhort and befeech him that, as it was becoming a Most Christian Prince, he would fet that Prelate at liberty. The Cardinal de' Medici had been conducted to Milan, where he was under honourable Custody; and though he was in the Power of the Enemy, yet the Authority of the Apostolic See, and the Awe of Religion were conspicuous in his Person, and at the same

time

time a Contempt of the Pisan Council*. And indeed the Cause of that Assembly was abandoned, not only by others, but even Schisma. by those who had attended and favoured ticCouncil despised. it by their Arms, none paying it any Devotion, or placing any Faith in it. For the Pontiff having granted the Cardinal a Power to absolve from Censures those Soldiers who would promife to bear Arms no more against the Church, and to allow to all the Dead, for whom it should be demanded, Ecclefiaftical Burial, incredible was the Concourse, and furprising the Devotion of the Demanders and Promifers +. The King's Ministers winked at these Proceedings, but the Cardinals could not bear, without the highest Indignation, that before their Eyes, and in a Place where was their own Residence and the Seat of the Council, the Subjects and Soldiers of the King should, contrary to his Ff 3

* The Cardinal was lodged in the Palace of Cardinal San Severino; and had such Honours paid him by the noble Families of the Visconti, Pallavicini, and Trivulzi, that if he had been a Conqueror, and seated in the highest Degree of Fortune, he could scarce have been treated with more Respect. Giovio.

+ The Clerks were hardly sufficient to supply the Pa-

tents of Absolution. Giovio.

A. D. Honour and Service, and in his own Ter1512. ritories, totally difregard the Authority of
the Council, and adhere to the Roman
Church, acknowledging, with the profoundest Reverence, the Cardinal Prisoner
as an Apostolical Legate.

On Cafar's Ratification of the Truce with the Venetians, though his Agents in Verona denied it, the King of France recalled Part of the Troops which he had in Garrison in that City, since they were no longer necessary there, and because the War which threatened him from England had obliged him to recall from beyond the Mountains Two Hundred Gens d'Arms, the Archers of his Guard, and Two Hundred other Lances: But being fensible, from his increasing Apprehenfions of the Saviss, that there was Occafion for a stronger Force in the Dutchy of Milan, he had pressed the Florentines to fend into Lombardy the Three Hundred Men at Arms whom, by the Articles of the Confederacy, they were bound to furnish for the Defence of his States. This Treaty was to expire in two Months,

but he prevailed on them, while the Re-A. D. putation of his Victory was yet fresh upon their Minds, to enter into a new Confede-Floren-racy for five Years, by which he obliged tines confederate himself to defend their State with Six with Hundred Lances, and the Florentines on France. the other Side engaged to furnish Four Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of all that the King possessed in Italy; tho' to avoid all Occasions of involving themselves in a War with the Pope, they excepted from the general Obligation the Town of Cotignuola, as a Place to which the Church might possibly pretend some Right.

But now the Affairs of the King manifestly appeared to be in a very dangerous State, for the Swiss had at last resolved to grant a Body of Six Thousand Foot for the Service of the Pope, who had demanded them on pretence of employing their Arms against Ferrara. All that the Partisans of France could effect was only to protract this Resolution from Time to Time till this Present, on which account they were highly exclaimed against in the Diets by F f 4

A. D. the enraged Multitude, who were strangely incensed with Hatred against the Name Swifs in of the King of France. It was not enough, censed they faid, for that King ungratefully to reagainst the King fuse a small Augmentation to the Pay of of France. those by whose Valour and Blood he had obtained fo much Dominion and Reputation, but he must also in most abusive Terms upbraid them with their Ignobility; as if at the Beginning all Men had not one Original, and one and the fame Birth; and as if there were at prefent any Person great or noble whose Progenitors had not, at fome Time or other, been poor, mean, and ignoble. He had begun, they faid, to hire Lanskenet Foot, to shew that he no longer wanted their Service in the Wars, perfuading himfelf that fince they were deprived of his Pay, they had nothing to do but to loiter and starve upon their Mountains: That they ought therefore to demonstrate to all the World the Vanity of his Imaginations, and the Falsehood of his Perfuafions, and that his Ingratitude was hurtful to none but himfelf: That warlike Men were not to be restrained by any Difficulties from giving Testimo-

nies of their Valour; and that Gold and A. D. Silver were always at the Command of those who were provided with Steel and Arms; and that it was necessary to convince the World for once how imprudently he took his Measures, when he preferred the German Foot to those of the Helvetians. In short, so transported were the Swiss with Zeal for the Pope's Cause, that they regarded it as their own, and left their Houses on the Receipt only of a single Rhenish Florin for each; whereas they never stirred for the French Service without Promises first made of great Pay to Soldiers, and Abundance of Presents made to the Officers. Their Rendevouz was at Coira, the principal Town of the Grisons, who being Confederates of the King of France, from whom they generally received Pensions, had fent to excuse themselves to his Majesty, representing that, by their antient Contracts with the principal Cantons of the Swifs, they could not refuse to send a certain Number of their Troops to accompany them into the Field.

458 A. D. 1512.

THIS Movement mightily disturbed the Minds of the French, whose Forces were much diminished; for after the General of Normandy had broke the Italians, they had not above Ten Thousand Foot, and the Men at Arms which the King had recalled having passed the Mountains, there remained in Italy no more than Thirteen Hundred Lances, of which Three Hundred were in Parma. And yet the General of Normandy, acting more the Part of a Treasurer than a Warrior, would not confent to new Levies of Foot without the King's Commission. But the Troops under Palisse, which had arrived at Finale in their Way to Romagna, were returned to Milan; and Orders were fent to Cardinal San Severino to return thither with the Forces that were in Romagna. On the Departure of these Troops Rimini and Cefena with their Castles, and also Ravenna returned without any Difficulty under Obedience to the Pope; and the French unwilling to leave the Dutchy of Milan unprovided, the City of Bologna, for the Support of which they had been at fo much

much Expence and Trouble, was left abandoned in the Midst of Dangers.

459 A. D. 1512.

THE Swifs, as foon as they were affembled at Coira, marched from thence to Trent, Cæsar having granted them Passage through his Dominions, though, willing to conceal as much as possible what he had before resolved from the King of France, he protested that he could not forbid them to pass through his Country on account of his Confederacy with them. From Trent the Swiss descended into the Veronese, where they were expected by the Venetians, who concurred with the Pope in paying them; and though there was not Money Descent enough for that Purpose, because they of the were above Six Thousand more than the swifs in-Number demanded*, yet so ardent was bardy. the Resentment of the Multitude against the King of France, that, contrary to their Custom, they patiently put up with all Inconveniencies.

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^{*} They were in all Twenty Thousand, towards the Payment of whom the Venetians contributed an Overplus of Fisteen Thousand Ducats. Mocen. Buonac. But Bembo makes them no more than Eighteen Thousand.

460 A. D. 1512.

On the other Side Palisse with the Army had advanced first to Pontoglio to prevent the Passage of the Swifs, imagining that their Defign was to make a Descent into Italy on that Quarter. But finding afterwards that their Motions were directed another Way, he had posted himself at Castiglione dello Striviere, a Town Six Miles from Peschiera, uncertain whether the Enemy intended to proceed, as it was reported, towards Ferrara, or attack the Dutchy of Milan; and this Uncertainty perhaps haftened the subsequent Train of Misfortunes. For it was not doubted but the Swiss would have pursued their March towards the Ferrarese, had not the Stradiotti of the Venetians, unfortunately for the French, intercepted a Letter of Palisse to the General of Normandy, who remained at Milan, in which, fignifying to him the State of Affairs, he demonstrated that it would be very difficult to resist the Enemies if they should turn their Arms against the Milanese. This Letter being read in a Council of War, at which affifted the Cardinal of Sion, who came from Venice,

and

46 I and the General Officers, the Defign was A. D. altered, and it was refolved with Reason, which feldom deceives, to betake themfelves to that Enterprise which they understood would most incommode the Enemy. In pursuance of this Resolution they Swifs marched from Verona to Villafranca, where turn their they joined the Venetian Army, command-against the ed by Gian Pagolo Baglione, and confist-Dutchy of Milan: ing of Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, with a numerous Artillery both of battering and Field Pieces. On this Palisse abandoned Valeggio as defenceless, and retired to Gambara, with a Defign to post himself at Ponte Vico, having in his Army but Six or Seven Thousand Foot, the rest being distributed in Brescia, Peschiera, and Lignago, and no more than a Thoufand Lances; for though he had been inclined to recall the Three Hundred that were in Parma, yet the manifest Danger that threatened Bologna, with the most preffing Instances of the Bentivogli, obliged him to order those Troops to enter that City, which was left almost without a Garrifon.

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A. D.

of the

French.

THE French now, though late, difcovered their Danger, and the Vanity of those Hopes with which they had been amused, and heartily cursing the Avarice and pernicious Counsels of the General of Normandy, they compelled him to confent that Federigo da Bozzolo and some other Italian Officers should raise, with all posfible Speed, Six Thousand Foot; a Remedy which could not be put in Practice Weakness under ten Days at least. The French Army was weakened not only on account of the fmall Number of Troops, but by the Disagreement between the Generals; for the rest in a manner disdained to be under the Command of Palisse, and the Men at Arms, harraffed and tired out with a long Courfe of Labours and Fatigues, wished that the Dutchy of Milan were lost, that they might return into France, rather than defend it with fo much Danger and Vexation.

> PALISSE having quitted Valeggio, the Venetians and Swifs took Possession of it, and thence paffing the Mincio, encamped

in the Mantouan, where the Marquis, ex- A. D. cufing himself on account of his Inability to refift, gave free Passage to both Parties. In this difficult Juncture it was the Refolution of the French Commanders wholly to abandon the Field, and attend to the Preservation of the most important Towns, in Hopes, and not without Reason, that by temporifing so great a Body of Swifs would not keep long together, because the Pope, who was as backward in Payments as forward in Wars, distrusting his Sufficiency for subfifting fo great a Number, was very flow in his Difburfements. Purfuant to this Resolution they placed in Brescia Two Thousand Foot, an Hundred and Fifty Lances, and an Hundred Men at Arms of the Florentines; in Crema Fifty Lances and a Thousand Foot; in Bergamo a Thousand Foot and an Hundred Men at Arms of the Florentines. The rest of the Army, which consisted of Seven Hundred Lances, Two Thousand French Foot, and Four Thousand Germans, retired to Ponte Vico, a strong Situation, and convenient for covering Milan, Cremona, Brescia and Bergamo, where they were

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A. D. were in Hopes of eafily maintaining themfelves. But the next Day, to their Surprife, came Letters from Cæfar with Orders for the German Foot immediately to quit the French Service; and these Troops, being almost all of them of the County of Tirol, they durst not oppose the Will of their Sovereign, but departed the fame Day. By their Departure Palisse and the other Commanders lost all Hopes of any longer defending the Dutchy of Milan, and immediately retired in Confusion from Ponte Vico to Pizzichitone. By this Step the Cremonese, finding themselves wholly abandoned, furrendered to the Confedevolt from rate Army, which was approaching, and

Cremona and Bergamo re-

obliged themselves to pay the Swiss Forty Thousand Ducats. But Disputes arising concerning the Property of the City, the Venetians striving to have it restored to their Republic, it was at last received in the Name of the League, and of Massimiliano the Son of Lodovico Sforza, for whom the Pontiff and the Swifs pretended that the Dutchy of Milan was to be conquered: the Castle, however, remained in the Hands of the French. The same time also

the

465 A. D. 1512.

the City of Bergamo revolted from the French to the Confederates, for Palisse having recalled the Garrison to reinforce his Army, as soon as they were gone some Exiles entered the Place, and stirred up the Citizens to rebel.

FROM Pizzichitone Palisse passed the Adda, where he was joined by the Three Hundred Lances appointed for the Defence of Bologna, and recalled on the Increase of the Danger. Here he was in hopes of making a Stand, and disputing the Passage of the River, if he were timely reinforced with the new Levies of Foot which it had been refolved to raife. But, alas! this Resource proved as deficient as the rest, for Money was wanting to list the Soldiers, the General of Normandy having no ready Cash, nor Means for raifing Supplies, as usual, by mortgaging the Royal Revenue, for in so dangerous a Juncture the public Credit was loft. Wherefore the General, after four Days, as foon as the Enemy approached the River three Miles below Pizzichitone. quitted his Post, and retired to Sant. Angelo, VOL. V. Gg in

Milan aban-

A. D. in order to retreat the next Day from thence to Pavia.

In this desperate Circumstance all Hopes of defending the Dutchy of Milan being vanished, and the whole Country rising in Rebellion and Tumults, Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, the General of Normandy, Antonmaria Palavicino, Galeazzo Visconti, and doned by many other Noblemen, with all the King's the French Officers and Ministers, consulted their own Safety, and departed from Milan for Piedmont. The Cardinals, who flood as much in Fear of the People as of the Enemy, had fled from the City fome Days before, though, shewing more Fierceness in their Decrees than in the rest of their Actions, they had much about the fame time fufpended the Pope from all spiritual and temporal Administration of the Church, as a Preamble to his Deprivation.

> THESE Tumults were conducive to the Preservation of the Cardinal de' Medici, who was referved by Heaven for the highest Felicity. For having fet out, under a Guard,

Guard, for France, as he was taking Boat A.D. in the Morning at the Passage of the Po that lies over against Basignana, by the Cardinal Antients called Augusta Bacienorum, he de' Medici was rescued by Rinaldo Zallo at the Head rescued. of fome of his Domestics and certain Peafants of a Village called Pieve del Cairo, where the Cardinal had lodged that Night, who coming unawares upon the Guard of French Soldiers, and giving a Shout, excited fo great a Terror and Confusion among them that they thought of nothing but how to secure themselves by Flight.

But Palisse having entered Pavia was refolved to stay in the Place and defend himself, for which End he requested Trivulzio and the General of Normandy to repair thither. Trivulzio being fent by Directions from the General and other principal Persons, demonstrated to him the Vanity of his Resolution, that it was imposfible to put a Stop to fo great a Ruin, the Army being without Infantry, and the Shortness of Time not admitting of new Levies: That no Soldiers could be procured but from Places far distant, and with

Gg 2

A. D. the greatest Difficulty; and that, even if

1512. all other Impediments were removed,
Desperate there was no Money to pay the Troops,
State of
the French the public Credit being entirely sunk, their
Affairs. Friends full of Fears, and the People of
Hatred, from the immoderate Licentiousness of the Soldiery, under which they had
fo long suffered. Trivulzio having thus
spoken his Sentiments, left Palisse, and
went to procure a commodious Passage for
the Troops over the Po, by laying a Bridge
over that River at a good Distance from
Valenza towards Ashi, where the Channel
is narrowest.

But the Confederate Army, to which the City of Lodi, with its Castle, had surrendered when the French retired to the Adda, advanced from Sant. Angelo, and came before Pavia, where the Venetians immediately began to batter the Castle, and Part of the Swiss passed the River that runs close by the City in Boats. The French searing that they would intercept their Passea at the Stone Bridge that lies over the River Tesino, which was the only Way they had to save themselves, drew towards

French abandon Pavia with Lofs. towards that Bridge, in order to retire out A. D. of the Place. But before they could get 1512. off the Rearguard, behind which were posted last of all, to guard the Horses, some German Foot, who had not marched out with their Countrymen, the Swiss broke out upon them from the Quarters about the Porta Nuova, and from the Caftle, which was abandoned, and skirmished with them through the whole Length of the Town and of the Bridge, the Germans above all making a flout Refistance. But in paffing the Bridge of Gravalone, which was of Wood, the Planks breaking by the Weight of the Horses, the French and Germans who had not yet passed were all either killed or taken. Pavia was obliged to pay a large Sum of Money, Milan had before compounded for a much larger Sum, and all the other Cities, except Brescia and Crema, strove which should be most forward to pay their Contributions. The Name of the Empire was cried up through all the Country, and the State was received and governed in the Name of the Holy League, as they agreed to call it. The Administration of the public Affairs

470 A. D.

dinal of Sion, whom the Pope had appointed his Legate; but all the Money that was raised by the Contributions or Taxes was paid away to the Swiss, who had all the Benefit, and all the Gains, But when the Fame of their Success had reached Switzerland, the whole Nation was elated to such a Degree that at the Breaking up of the Diet, called at Zurich on Matters relating to this Expedition, they came pouring into Lombardy in great Numbers to participate of the Success of their Countrymen.

In this great Revolution of the public Affairs the Cities of Parma and Piacenza voluntarily submitted to the Pope, who pretended a Right to them as Members of the Exarchate of Ravenna. The Swiss feized on Lucarna, and the Grisons on the Valtolina and Chiavenna, which Places lay very commodious for their Affairs: And Janus Fregoso, a General Officer in the Venetian Service, proceeding to Genoa with some Horse and Foot which he had obtained

tained of the Senate, procured that City to A. D. revolt, and expel the French Governor, and himself to be created Doge, which Dignity his Father had enjoyed before him. In the fame Career of Fortune all the Towns and Fortresses of Romagna returned under the Dominion of the Pope; and the Duke of Urbino, with the Ecclefiastic Forces, approaching Bologna, the Bentivogli in Despair abandoned that City, and were profecuted with the utmost Severity by the Pope, who interdicted all Places that should for the future receive or entertain any of that Family. Nor did he shew less Refentment against the City of Bologna, being highly incenfed against the Inhabitants, who, forgetting the many Benefits and Favours he had bestowed upon them, had ungratefully revolted from his Dominion, had infulted his Statue with many vile Indignities, and cast many scornful and abusive Reflections on his Character. For these Reasons he created no new Magistrates of their own Body, nor any more admitted them into the least Share in the Government; but took care to extort, by means

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THE HISTORY OF

A. D. means of severe Ministers, great Sums of Money from many of the Citizens as Adherents to the Bentivogli. On these Grounds it was reported, whether true or false, that, if his Projects had not been interrupted by Death, he had formed a Defign to destroy the City, and remove the Inhabitants to Cento.

The End of the Tenth Book and Fifth Volume.

ERRATA.

Page 8 for Cordi r. Corti. 54 confideing r. confiding; as elsewhere, for fir. 6. 60 Hope, r. Hopes. 65 fatety r. safety. 69 struck r. struck. 79 3000 Spanish r. 300. 125 declared to d. to. 138 was willing r. he was. 152 Besiegers r. Besieged. 211 Reputation r. or Reputation. 231 after Cardinals r. *. 329 States r. Districts. 394 16000 Lances r. 1600, & 20





